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# **Codex Amiatinus of the Latin Vulgate Bible and Its Birthplace**



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**H. J. WHITE**



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## THE CODEX AMIATINUS AND ITS BIRTHPLACE

H. J. WHITE

### I.

THE visitor in Florence who happens to be in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library when its greatest treasure, the celebrated Vulgate CODEX AMIATINUS, is out of its case, will see what is perhaps the finest book in the world. Wonderful as are the other treasures of this Library, the Orosius, the Sophocles, the Tacitus, the Virgil, the Pandects, the Codex Amiatinus surpasses them all, and, to use the words of Dr. Hort, impresses the beholder with a feeling not far removed from awe, as he contemplates this 'prodigy of a manuscript.' The book measures about  $50 \times 34$  centim. ( $19\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{8}$  in.) in length and breadth, and nearly  $20\frac{7}{8}$  centim. (7 in.) in thickness without the binding. It contains the whole Bible according to the Vulgate version, together with the usual prefaces, &c. to each book, and a quaternion of very valuable introductory matter at the commencement; it numbers 1029 leaves of vellum, stout but smooth and white, written in two columns to a page, and forty-three or forty-four lines to a column. The text is in a regular and beautiful uncial hand, so carefully and clearly written that it has needed but few corrections; there is no punctuation, as the text is divided into lines of varying length, technically called *cola* and *commata*, or less correctly *stichi*, which represent an ancient system of punctuation perfectly intelligible to the trained eye. The first lines of each book are written in red, but there is no

illumination in the body of the manuscript, except in the page before the beginning of the New Testament, and in the first quaternion, the paintings in which we shall discuss below.

A manuscript of this size and beauty would naturally take a high rank amongst authorities for determining the text of the Vulgate version, and we are not surprised to learn that during the Sixtine revision it was brought to Rome for the purpose of collation, by the order of Sixtus V. Till lately, moreover, it was generally dated by scholars near the middle of the sixth century, and such an early date would of course render its text of great value; but two years ago a series of facts was brought to light which has conclusively fixed the MS. a century and a half later. The links in this chain it is the purpose of the following pages to describe, though nothing has been attempted in the solution of many questions which are still somewhat obscure.

## II.

### *The Dedication Verses.*

On the reverse of the first leaf of the Codex appear the following verses, in a hand slightly larger than the rest of the writing, and surrounded by a thin illuminated border:—

CENOBIVM AD EXIMII MERITO  
 VENERABILE SALVATORIS  
 QVEM CAPVT ECCLESIAE  
 DEDICAT ALTA FIDES  
 PETRVS LANGOBARDORVM  
 EXTREMIS DE FINIB. ABBAS  
 DEVOTI AFFECTVS  
 PIGNORA MITTO MEI  
 MEQVE MEOSQ. OPTANS  
 TANTI INTER GAVDIA PATRIS  
 IN CAELIS MEMOREM  
 SEMPER HABERE LOCVM.



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The four words in italics, which record the name of the monastery to which the book was at one time dedicated, and the name of the donor, are not in the original hand. They are a substitute for other names which have been carefully erased, with the exception of the *c* in *cenobium* and the *e* in *Petrus*; the marks of the erasure are plainly visible and the handwriting is evidently later, while the violation of the laws of metre would itself betray the work of one who was using material not his own<sup>1</sup>.

But what lurks under this erasure? The words at present record the gift of the book to the Convent of Monte Amiata by a certain Peter, abbat of a Lombard monastery, who lived at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries; but he has made use of the dedication of a previous donor; have we any means of restoring the original inscription and discovering who that donor was?

Until lately scholars had accepted the emendation proposed by Bandini, who, in his catalogue of the MSS. of the Laurentian Library<sup>2</sup>, has given a long and able description of the *Codex Amiatinus*. Tischendorf indeed, who in our own days published the text of the New Testament<sup>3</sup>, did little more in his prolegomena than abbreviate this description.

Now Bandini proposed to restore the first two lines in a way which seemed to carry probability, nay certainty, with it, viz. :—

CVLMEN AD EXIMII MERITO  
VENERABILE PETRI,

a restitution which not only makes the hexameter run smoothly, but also fits in excellently with the expression *caput ecclesiae*, and records the gift of the book to St. Peter's at Rome, as being the head of the Church. For the name of the donor in the fifth line, however, Bandini's suggested

<sup>1</sup> The MS. reads LANGOBARDORVM not LONGOBARDORVM as Bandini erroneously transcribed it, and Tischendorf, who copied from Bandini.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana*, Florentiae, 1791, vol. i. p. 701 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Novum Testamentum ex Codice Amiatino*, Lipsiae, 1850 and 1854.

explanation did not seem so conclusive; instead of *Petrus Langobardorum*, etc., he proposed to read

SERVANDVS LATII

EXTREMIS DE FINIB. ABBAS.

This emendation indeed hardly satisfied himself, for he tells us that at the first glance (cap. vi. p. 706) the Codex appeared to him to have been written not by an Italian, but by an *English* or German abbat—a piece of acuteness which after-events have strangely verified. The name Servandus was suggested by an inscription in somewhat barbarous Greek, by the first hand, at the beginning of the book of Leviticus, informing us that a scribe of that name had written at any rate a portion of the Bible extending so far:—

OKYPIC CEPBANΔOC AI ΠΟΙHCEN

As Mabillon in his *Annales*<sup>1</sup> records a Servandus, abbat of a Benedictine monastery near Alatri, who visited St. Benedict in the year 541 at Monte Cassino, Bandini concluded that this was the scribe of the book and author of the dedication verses. Or the book might have been written by another Servandus, who lived later in the century, and was among the correspondents of Gregory the Great. A tradition preserved by Ughelli<sup>2</sup> ascribes the writing of the book to Gregory himself; and such a tradition might easily have arisen if it had been presented to him by Servandus (e.g.) upon his election to the Papal chair in 590.

The date of the manuscript then seemed fixed to the middle, or at the latest to the second half, of the sixth century; and even Tischendorf thought that the expression *extremis de finibus abbas* might be meant to describe the distance of Servandus' monastery from Rome, though it certainly seems an exaggerated way of describing a distance

<sup>1</sup> *Annales O. S. B.* tom. i. pp. 85, 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Italia Sacra*, iii. p. 623; and for the connection between Servandus and Pope Gregory, see Gregory's *Dialogues*, lib. ii. c. xxxv.

which, as Dr. Ranke remarks, is not greater than that between Leipzig and Berlin<sup>1</sup>.

As time went on, critics began to grow suspicious of such an early date; and as early as 1873, Dr. Karl Hamann<sup>2</sup> maintained that it was of the eighth, not the sixth century; he also doubted whether Servandus was really the scribe of the book, on the ground that had he been so he would hardly have put the Greek inscription in the strange place it occupies—the beginning of Leviticus; nor would he have been likely to style himself ΚΥΡΙΟΝ (i.e. ΚΥΡΙΟΝ, Dominus).

Nothing more, however, was said in print on the question till 1882, when Lagarde wrote a letter to the *Academy*<sup>3</sup>, stating that for some time he had felt almost certain—‘for intrinsic reasons’—that the *Codex Amiatinus* should be dated in the ninth century; and that an examination of the manuscript which he had been permitted to make in Florence, proved the external evidence to be in thorough accord with his anticipations. He urged that if a MS. of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century were placed beside the *Codex Amiatinus*, the difference between a genuine and an artificial uncial hand, between old and more modern vellum, and between the truly antique size of a book and a size chosen to make the most of the skins at hand, would at once become apparent: he suggested that the *Codex* was written at Reichenau, on the Lake of Constance, by the same scribe who wrote the copy of Jerome’s *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* (now at Carlsruhe), there being great similarity in the handwriting of the two MSS. In his own *Mittheilungen*<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1887, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hamann’s criticism occurs in a review of Heyse and Tischendorf’s edition of the Vulgate Old Testament with collation of the *Codex Amiatinus* (Leipzig, 1873); see Hilgenfeld’s *Zeitschrift. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1873, pp. 591–594.

<sup>3</sup> *Academy*, Sept. 2, 1882.

<sup>4</sup> *Mittheilungen*, von P. de Lagarde; Goettingen, 1884: see pp. 191–2: also a review of this by H. Roensch in Hilgenfeld’s *Zeitschrift*, 1885, p. 252: and Samuel Berger in a review of Dr. Corssen’s *Epistula ad Galatas*, *Bulletin Critique*, March, 1886.

published a little later, Lagarde still keeps to this, as it proves, too late date for the MS. ; and urges the same reasons, —namely, the difference in the size of the parchment, ink, and form of the letters, from genuine sixth century MSS. In addition he remarks that the marginal notes, which are obviously by the first hand<sup>1</sup>, are written in minuscule character, and that some of the textual errors look as if they resulted from the careless copying of a minuscule exemplar.

### III.

It was reserved however for the Commendatore G. B. de Rossi, the famous Italian epigraphist and historian of the Catacombs, to make the emendation in the fifth line of the dedication verses, the verification of which has removed the later date of the *Codex Amiatinus* from the realm of conjecture into that of fact. In the summer of 1886 he published an essay<sup>2</sup>, printed in Rome at the Vatican Press, and extracted from the first volume of a description of the Palatine MSS. of the Vatican Library. In the ninth chapter of this work he drew attention to the very large traffic in manuscripts of the sacred Scriptures which was carried on in the seventh century between Rome and the various churches in northern Europe, especially that of England. As the Church spread in more distant lands, the new bishops and abbats were all anxious to obtain from Rome Bibles for their respective cathedrals and monasteries; and sometimes the demand proved greater than the supply. Thus we find Martin I. writing to one bishop, *Codices iam exinaniti sunt a nostra bibliotheca, unde ei* (the bearer of the letter) *dare nullatenus habuimus; transcribere autem non potuit, quoniam festinanter de hac civitate egredi properavit*<sup>3</sup>.

Few, however, of the bishops or abbats have such a claim on the grateful remembrance of Englishmen as Benedict

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Corssen thinks they may be later (*Academy*, April 7, 1888).

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Biscop, the founder of the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow in Northumberland, and his disciple and successor Ceolfrid. Students of Bede had long read with admiration of the untiring and far-sighted energy with which Benedict, from his northern cloister, made no less than five journeys to Rome, partly for devotion, but also to enrich his monastery with the finest manuscripts and pictures he could obtain, and to civilise and educate his rough island followers by introducing to them the arts of France and Italy. Benedict was a traveller and a collector from his youth; after his first journey (probably about 653 A.D.) Bede<sup>1</sup> tells us that *ad patriam mox reversus, studiosius ea quae vidit ecclesiasticae vitae instituta diligere venerari, et quibus potuit praedicare non desit*. His second journey was made in 658, after which he remained some time abroad, returning at length in 669. After two years of monastic life in England, he again in 671 started on his third journey, *librosque omnis divinae eruditionis non paucos vel placito pretio emptos vel amicorum dono largitos retulit*; and it was after this journey that he obtained from Ecgfrid the gift of land which enabled him to found the Wearmouth monastery of St. Peter. To make the buildings of sufficient beauty he journeyed again to France, and procured from thence builders and *vitri factores* to adorn the windows of the chapel and refectory with the hitherto unknown luxury of glass, while the fittings for the chapel, the sacred vessels and vestments were also obtained from abroad.

Finding, however, that even the resources of Gaul failed to satisfy all his requirements, the indefatigable abbat in 678 made a fourth journey to Rome, whence he brought back *innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam*, a large store of relics, and also obtained the Pope's permission for the Abbat John, *archicantor* of St. Peter's, to accompany him to England, and introduce into the Northumberland monastery the order of singing and performing Divine Service according to the Roman use.

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Vita quinque Abbatum*; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xciv. p. 714 foll.

A year later, Benedict founded the sister monastery of St. Paul at Jarrow, and appointed as its abbat the presbyter Ceolfrid, his faithful companion, who had accompanied him on his last journey to Rome to share his devotions and studies.

And in 684 Benedict started yet again on his fifth journey to Rome, and again returned *innumeris sicut semper ecclesiasticorum donis commodorum locupletatus . . . magna quidem copia voluminum sacrorum sed non minori sicut et prius sanctarum imaginum munere ditatus*.

But soon after, worn out, as we may well believe, not only by the asceticism of the monastic life, but also by his frequent and arduous journeys, Benedict grew ill and died; and in his last thoughts and arrangements, the library he had collected at such trouble and expense naturally occupied a prominent position: *bibliothecam quam de Roma nobilissimam copiosissimamque advenerat ad instructionem ecclesiae necessariam, sollicitè servari integram, nec per incuriam foedari aut passim dissipari praecepit*. And so, after appointing Ceolfrid abbat over the two monasteries, the good man breathed his last.

Ceolfrid proved a worthy successor, and continued the work of extending the monastic buildings. During his rule of seven years over Jarrow, and twenty-eight over the combined monasteries, we read<sup>1</sup> of the altars, the sacred vessels, and vestments he added to the property of the church; and especially how *bibliothecam utriusque monasterii, quam Benedictus abbas magna coepit instantia, ipse non minori geminavit industria; ita ut tres pandectes novae translationis ad unum vetustae translationis quem de Roma attulerat, ipse super adiungeret; quorum unum senex Romam rediens secum inter alia pro munere sumpsit, duos utrique monasterio reliquit*. The *pandectes vetustae translationis* he must have brought with him from Rome when accompanying Benedict on his fourth journey<sup>2</sup>. After a long and faithful rule over the monasteries, Ceolfrid determined to visit for the last time

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Vita quinque Abbatum*, lib. ii. p. 725 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In 678 probably, see above, p. 279, and also Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 18.



the Apostolic city, and for this purpose left England with a few followers in 716; he did not live, however, to complete his journey, getting no further than Langres, where he died on the 25th of September.

Some of his monks went on to Rome, while the rest returned at once to their monastery.

In his work *De temporum ratione*<sup>1</sup>, c. 66, Bede furnishes us with some more interesting information about this journey. We read that Ceolfrid was seventy-four years old at the time of this last pilgrimage, and that *inter alia donaria quae adferre disposuerat, misit ecclesiae sancti Petri pandectem a beato Hieronymo in Latinum ex Hebraeo vel Graeco fonte translaturam*. After his death at Langres, those of his followers who proceeded to Rome took with them the Pandect, we must suppose, and offered it to the chair of St. Peter.

We may now return to the Dedication verses in a position to understand De Rossi's brilliant emendation of the erased letters in the fifth line. He had, like Dr. Hamann before him, remarked that Servandus, were he the scribe or possessor of the whole book, would not be likely to sign his name only at the beginning of Leviticus; and Dr. Anziani, the librarian of the Laurentian Library, had remarked to him that the erasure was too long to be properly filled up by the words *SERVANDVS LATII*; the expression also *EXTREMIS DE FINIB. ABBAS* seemed less applicable to the dwellers in Latium than to such a people as the *toto divisos orbe Britannos*. Bearing this in mind, together with the incident related in Bede of the Pandect offered by Ceolfrid to the Church of Rome, De Rossi conjectured the substitution of *CEOLFRIDVS BRITONVM* for *SERVANDVS LATII*.

A fresh examination of the erasure in the Dedication verses in this new light confirmed the conjecture almost to certainty. The second letter in the fifth line, E, was, as we saw, not erased but was part of the original inscription, and

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xc. p. 571.

of course suited *Ceolfriðus Britonum* quite as well as *Servandus*; in addition to this, the words *Ceolfriðus Britonum* exactly fill up the space erased; the first letter has not been entirely destroyed, and shows strong indications of having once been a c instead of an s; the erasure of the fourth letter extends above the line, which looks as if l had once been there; that of the fifth extends below, which agrees well with an r. All these points together made the words *CEOLFRIDVS BRITONVM* an almost certain emendation of *SERVANDVS LATII*, and subsequent events have shown this discovery to be one of the most brilliant perhaps that have ever been made in the history of palaeography.

This much, then, might now be said to have been proved with regard to the *Codex Amiatinus*. It was in all probability the identical manuscript which had been in the possession of the Abbat Ceolfrið, at Wearmouth, in the beginning of the eighth century, and had been sent by him as a gift to the Pope. Whether it was written by him or at his order, or whether it was an older manuscript procured by him during his travels was not clear, for Bede's words simply state that Ceolfrið added to the monastic library three Pandects of the new translation, in addition to the one volume of the old translation brought from Rome. Still the discovery at any rate explained the late date which some critics had wished to give to the book, and rendered it possible, if not probable, that it was written in Ceolfrið's own days.

Meanwhile a parallel line of argument strongly supporting De Rossi's conjecture was developing from another quarter. The Bishop of Salisbury, whilst collating MSS. for his edition of the Vulgate, had been for some time struck by the resemblance in text between the eighth and ninth century British manuscripts and the *Codex Amiatinus*, a resemblance for which there seemed no means of accounting on the prevailing supposition of the latter having been written in Italy. This was notably the case with the St. John of the *Durham Gospels* (A. II. 16) of the seventh century, the exquisite *Stonyhurst St.*

*John* (sixth or seventh century) found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert, who died in 687, but most of all with the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (Brit. Mus. Nero D. IV.) of the beginning of the eighth century; in a less degree with the *Rushworth Gospels*, an Irish text of the beginning of the ninth century, now in the Bodleian Library, with the Gospels from *St. Augustine's* Canterbury (sixth or seventh), both at Oxford and at Cambridge, and the first hand of the *Echternach Gospels* (Paris, Lat. 9389), a MS. written in an Anglo-Saxon hand, and placed by M. Delisle in the eighth or ninth century. The *Lindisfarne Gospels* indeed present a text of that puzzling nature which falls short of being an actual transcript of the *Amiatinus*, and yet argues the very closest connection short of this; there are indeed differences between the two MSS., often in spelling, sometimes in reading; but in spite of this the general agreement between them is most noticeable, and not unfrequently a reading is shared by them against all other Vulgate MSS. hitherto examined. The explanation of this extraordinarily close affinity in text between the two MSS. is of course simple enough on the supposition that the *Codex Amiatinus* itself enjoyed for some years a place of honour in the library at Wearmouth or Jarrow.

#### IV.

The conjecture of De Rossi and the evidence in its favour borne by the texts of the MSS. were brought before English readers in a letter from the Bishop of Salisbury, published in the *Academy* of Feb. 12, 1887, and in the *Guardian* of Feb. 9; the correspondence was continued by other writers, amongst whom Prof. G. F. Browne proposed to read *Anglorum* instead of *Britonum* in the erased line of the Dedication verses; and M. Samuel Berger also suggested the same correction in a private letter to the Bishop. The last link in the chain, however, was supplied by Dr. Hort (*Academy*, Feb. 26), who contributed the one additional piece of evidence needed to complete the identification. Bede, it is

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now generally recognized, drew many of his details respecting Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid from a valuable little tract known as the *Anonymous Life of Ceolfrid*. This has not been printed on the continent, but was first published by J. Stevenson in 1841<sup>1</sup>, and curiously enough it contains two passages which supply just the required information. The first describes Ceolfrid's provision for the furniture and enrichment of the two monasteries as follows :—

‘Itaque monasteria quibus praeerat et extrinsecus abundanter opibus et non minus locupletavit internis. Nam et vasis quae ad ecclesiae vel altaris officium pertinent copiosissime ditavit et bibliothecam quam de Roma vel ipse vel Benedictus attulerat nobiliter ampliavit, ita ut inter alia tres Pandectes faceret describi; quorum duo per totidem sua monasteria posuit in ecclesiis, ut cunctis qui aliquod capitulum de utrolibet Testamento legere voluissent in promptu esset invenire quod cuperent, tertium autem Romam profecturus donum beato Petro apostolorum principi offerre decrevit.’

The second relates the journey of the monks to Rome after Ceolfrid's death :—

‘Sepulto igitur patre quidam ex fratribus qui eum deduxerunt patriam rediere, narraturi in monasterio ipsius ubi et quando transiret e corpore; quidam vero dispositum Romam iter peregere, delaturi munera quae miserat. In quibus videlicet muneribus erat Pandectes, ut diximus, interpretatione beati Hieronymi presbyteri ex Hebraeo et Graeco fonte transfusus, habens in capite scriptos huiusmodi versus :

Corpus ad eximii merito venerabile Petri  
Dedicat ecclesiae quem caput alta fides  
Ceolfridus, Anglorum extimis de finibus abbas,  
Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei,  
Meque meosque optans tanti inter gaudia patris  
In caelis memorem semper habere locum.’

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson published it for the English Historical Society in the Appendix to Bede's historical works from a Harleian MS. (3020) of the 9th or 10th century; it was reprinted ‘with the correction of a few errors’ by Giles, in 1843, in vol. vi. of his *Bede* (416 ff.): see Dr. Hort in the *Academy*; the passages here cited occur in Giles, p. 423 and 430, Stevenson, p. 325 and 332.

These verses we at once see are those of the *Codex Amiatinus*; for the transposition in the second line, and *extimis* for *extremis* in the third, are both probably slips made by the author of the *Anonymous Life*. As regards the first erased word, a fresh examination of the Codex shows the original word to be *corpus*, not *culmen*, as Bandini supposed; for the second letter, which is only half erased, appears to have been an *o* rather than an *u*<sup>1</sup>; in the third line De Rossi's 'admirable conjecture' stares us in the face, and there is only the slight change, before suggested by Prof. Browne and M. Berger, of *Anglorum* for *Britonum* (*Ceolfridus Anglorum*, not *Ceolfridus Britonum*), an emendation again which a fresh examination of the erasure renders more probable. And thus is proved without the shadow of a doubt the identity of the *Codex Amiatinus* with the Pandect, which, amongst others, Ceolfrid ordered to be written in England at the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century, and sent as a present to Pope Gregory II.

For the words of the anonymous life, *ita ut tres pandectes faceret describi*, show further that this Pandect was not an old manuscript obtained by Ceolfrid during his travels, but a new one written at his order, and thus the date of the writing is fixed a full century and a half later than Bandini and Tischendorf imagined, and the place is again fixed, as definitely, to one of the two northern monasteries. It is not of course so certain that the hand which wrote it was English; as a Roman musician was brought over to teach the English monks to sing, so an Italian scribe may well have come to instruct them in writing, and the Amiatine Bible may be the work of a foreigner though written in England. Dr. Hort<sup>2</sup> inclines to this opinion, and Dr. Hamann<sup>3</sup> urges on the ground of orthography, that

<sup>1</sup> The left limb of an uncial *u* has always a slight horizontal stroke to the left finishing it off; but there is no sign of such a stroke having been erased here, as the student may observe in the facsimile of the page given in the Palaeographical Society's Second Series (Plate 65).

<sup>2</sup> *Academy*, Feb. 26, 1887.

<sup>3</sup> *Academy*, May 7.

either the scribe himself was an Italian, or that at any rate he copied from an Italian exemplar. To Italy, he says, and to no other country, are we directed by such orthographical forms as *senes* for *senex*, *senia* for *xenia*, and *optimantium*, *gigans*, *ancxius*, *uncxit*, *sussaltastis*, *ammirata*, *quemammodum*, *cluserunt*, *hostia*, *tophadius*, *agusto*, *ascultabant*, *clodum*, *adtrac-taverit*, *redemet*, *histriatarum*, *espendebat*, *scandescet*, *Spaniae*, *totum belli impetu*, *in tantum arrogantiae tumore*, *incidemus in manu Dei et non in manus hominum*, etc.

But the handwriting of this, almost the largest Biblical MS. in existence, shows, strange to say, a remarkable similarity in form to another which may claim to be nearly the smallest—the *Stonyhurst St. John*. The resemblance in *text* between the two books has been noted above (p. 282). Dr. Hort<sup>1</sup> in calling attention to this, suggested that as the *Codex Amiatinus* was apparently written by an Italian scribe in Northumbria, the *Stonyhurst St. John* might have had a similar origin; for more than one scribe may have been brought from Rome, or the Northern monks may themselves have proved apt pupils.

If the scribe came back with Benedict in his *fourth* journey in 678, there would be ample time for him, or a pupil, to write the book and to send it as a present to Cuthbert in his retirement at Farne, so that we need not reject the legend (which goes back to the thirteenth century), that it was found in his coffin, and was therefore in his possession before 687; nor, on the other hand, need we suppose the book to have been written before the writing-school at Wearmouth was established<sup>2</sup>.

It remains to mention some other specimens of writing

<sup>1</sup> *Academy*, Feb. 26, 1887. The Palaeographical Society's editors indeed (Series I. pl. 17) suppose it to have been written on the continent, but there seem to be more distinct British characteristics in the hand-writing than in that of the *Codex Amiatinus*; the F especially—with its upper horizontal bar curved, and the lower straight—seems Anglo-British. See the Bishop of Salisbury in the *Academy*, Feb. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Sanday in the *Academy*, Feb. 19, 1887.

which probably came from the same place and at the same date as the *Codex Amiatinus* and the *Stonyhurst St. John*. Two fragments of manuscripts are bound up at the end of the famous Utrecht Psalter<sup>1</sup>, containing prefatory matter to the Gospels, the capitula to St. Matthew and chapters i. 1–iii. 4 of that Gospel; also St. John ii. 1–21. The greater part of these fragments is written in a hand very strongly resembling the *Amiatinus*, though Mr. Thompson<sup>2</sup> does not think it to be actually the same; the student, however, will be especially struck with the peculiar form of the small capital L which stands for St. Luke in the *Ammonian Sections* in both manuscripts, and is, I believe, extremely rare. The *capitula* after the first three letters are in a hand which, though larger, seems to be identical with that of the *Stonyhurst St. John*. And lastly, there is a fragment of St. Luke bound up in one of the Durham MSS., which not only presents the text of *Amiatinus* almost word for word, but also strongly resembles it in handwriting; and would seem to be a sister MS. There was then a large and flourishing school of calligraphy at Wearmouth or Jarrow in the seventh and eighth centuries, of which till lately we had no knowledge at all. It produced manuscripts such as the *Codex Amiatinus*, which have never been equalled for grandeur, and such as the *Stonyhurst St. John*, which have never been equalled for delicacy and grace; and we have to thank the Commendatore De Rossi for both fixing a date and a place to one of the most important Vulgate MSS., and for giving to England the credit of a writing school which more than rivals that of Tours.

## V.

We have mentioned above that the first quaternion of the *Codex Amiatinus* contains some extremely interesting prefatory matter; this consists of three arrangements of the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sanday in the *Academy*, March 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Academy*, March 12, 1887.



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books of the Old and New Testament with separate prolegomena, a two-page representation of the Tabernacle, and another of Ezra working in his study. The order of the leaves has been twice disturbed; for that given by Bandini in his description is evidently not the order in which they originally stood, while since Bandini's time, probably when the book was last bound, the order has been again changed. At present it is as follows<sup>1</sup>:—

Fol. 1 is blank; 1 *b* has the Dedication verses; 2 is blank; 2 *b* and 3 contain a large bird's-eye view of the Tabernacle (this is usually spoken of as 'Solomon's Temple'), drawn with great intricacy and painted with deep rich colours; 3 *b* is blank; 4 contains the prologue to the contents of the MS., and 4 *b* contains a list of these contents; this page is stained on both sides with a fine purple, and the writing, in yellow pigment, is arranged in tables with a double arch of twisted rope-pattern; 5 has an interesting picture of Ezra seated at work on a stool in front of an open bookcase; 5 *b* is blank; 6 contains the Hieronymian division of the Sacred books; at the head of the page is represented the Golden Lamb, from which hang seven *tabellae* as Bandini calls them, three of them containing the Old and four the New Testament; 6 *b* is blank; 7 has the Hilarian and Epiphanian division of Scripture, underneath the head of a monk, supposed by Bandini to be meant for a portrait of Pope Gregory; 7 *b* is of vellum stained bright yellow; the greater part of the page is occupied by a large circle filled in with purple, and with a yellow circumference; inside this again are five other circles disposed in the form of a cross, with intertwined circumference of green, and around these seven other still smaller circles; the colours of this page are not used in the other three pictures; 8 contains the Augustinian division of Scripture; here we have again a picture intersected by a circle; a dove has its wings outspread, and is surrounded by flames; two fillets are suspended from its beak, and from

<sup>1</sup> Prof. G. F. Browne, *Guardian*, Apr. 27, and *Academy*, Apr. 30, 1887.

these hang the six divisions of the sacred books, a cross being placed at the beginning and end of each division; finally, 8 b is blank, and looks like an outside sheet.

Such is the arrangement of the quaternion at the present time; in Bandini's time it was so far different that the second leaf of 'Solomon's Temple' stood seventh, the rest of the leaves standing as now.

We must, however, before discussing the original order of the leaves consider an important question, to which attention was drawn in 1883 by Dr. P. Corssen of Jever<sup>1</sup>, the relation of the contents of this quaternion to the earlier Bibles described by Cassiodorus in his *De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum*. In that treatise Cassiodorus describes at length his nine MSS., containing the books of the Old and New Testaments, with commentaries on these books by Jerome and other fathers. In Chapter XII he describes one volume which contained the sacred books according to Jerome's division; in the thirteenth chapter the Augustinian division; and in the fourteenth that of the *Antiqua Translatio*. This latter was written *inter alias (divisiones)* in a *Codex Grandior*, a fine volume containing 95 quaternions or 760 leaves. The Old Testament was a Latin translation from the LXX, in 44 books, the text being corrected throughout in accordance with St. Jerome's version.

The three lists in the Amiatine *Prolegomena* bear a striking resemblance to those of the *Codex Grandior*, as we shall see by printing at length the contents of the first quaternion of the Codex, and placing in a parallel column those passages from Cassiodorus which cover the same ground.

The first sheet, after the Dedication verses, which contains writing, is fol. 4 b; this has the Prologue to the contents of the MS. It is as follows:—

'Si diuino ut dignum est amore flammati ad ueram cupimus sapientiam peruenire et in hac uita fragili aeterni saeculi deside-

<sup>1</sup> *Die Bibeln des Cassiodorus und der Codex Amiatinus*, in the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, Leipzig, 1883.

ramus imaginem contueri Patrem luminum deprecemur ut nobis cor mundum tribuat actionem bonae uoluntatis impertiat<sup>1</sup> perseverantiam sua uirtute concedat, ut Scripturarum diuinarum palatia, ipsius misericordia largiente possimus fiducialiter introire, ne nobis dicatur Quare tu enarras iustitias meas et adsumis testamentum meum per os tuum sed inuitati illud potius audiamus Uenite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego uos reficiam. Magnum munus inestimabile beneficium, audire hominem secreta dei et quemadmodum ad ipsum ueniatur institui. Festinemus itaque fratres ad animarum fontem uiuum salutaria remedia iusionum. Quisquis enim in terris Scripturis talibus occupatur paene caelestis iam regni suauitate perfruitur. Nec nos moueat quod pater Augustinus in septuaginta unum libros testamentum uetus nouumque diuisit; doctissimus autem Hieronymus idem uetus nouumque testamentum XLVIII sectionibus comprehendit. In hoc autem corpore utrumque testamentum septuagenario numero probatur impletum, in illa palmarum quantitate forsitan praesagatus (*sic*) quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebraeorum. Nam licet haec calculo disparia uideantur, doctrina tamen patrum ad instructionem caelestis ecclesiae concorditer uniuersa perducunt. Amen.'

4 b contains the Amiatine list arranged in two columns with the hexameter lines at the bottom of the page as follows:—

'In hoc codice continentur ueteris et noui testamenti Libri N LXXI.

'Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Iosue, Iudicum, Ruth, Samuhel, Malachias<sup>2</sup>, Paralypomenon, Lib. Psalmorum, Prouerbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum, Lib. Sapientiae, Ecclesiasticum, Esaias, Hieremias<sup>3</sup>, Hiezechiel, Danihel, Osee, Iohel, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, Michas, Naum, Habacuc, Soffonias, Aggeus, Zaccharias, Malachias, Iob, Thobias, Iudith, Hester, Ezras<sup>4</sup>, Machabeorum lib. duo.

Euangelium secundum Mattheum, secundum Marcum, secundum

<sup>1</sup> *impertiat*, Cod.; *impertiat*, Bandini: see Corssen, p. 625.

<sup>2</sup> An obvious mistake for *Malachim*, i.e. *Regum*. *Malachim* is frequently found in Latin lists, cf. Isidore of Seville, Johannes Sarisburiensis, Hugo de S. Caro, in Hody, *De bibl. text.* etc. pp. 653, 656.

<sup>3</sup> Containing also Lamentations and the prayer of Jeremiah; cf. Bandini, p. 720.

<sup>4</sup> Including Nehemiah; Bandini, p. 721.

Lucam, secundum Iohannem, Actus Apostolorum, Epistulae Paulli Apost., ad Romanos I, ad Corintheos II, ad Galatas I, ad Ephesios I, ad Philippenses I, ad Colosenses I, ad Thessalon. II, ad Timotheum II, ad Titum I, ad Philimon I, ad Hebreos I, Epist. Iacobi I, Petri I<sup>1</sup>, Iohannis III, Iudae I, Apocalypsis Iohan. Amen.

Hieronyme interpretes uariis doctissime linguis  
Te bethlem celebrat te totus personat orbis  
Te quoque nostra tuis promit bibliotheca libris  
Qua noua cum priscis conditis donaria gazis.'

Fol. 5 contains the Ezra picture, with the couplet over his head, possibly added later :

'Codicibus sacris hostili clade perustis  
Ezra deo feruens hoc reparauit opus.'

In the open book-case by which he is sitting, are arranged various volumes of Scripture, entitled<sup>2</sup> OCT. LIB.—REG. LIB.—HEST. LIB.—PSAL. LIB.—SAL. . . .—PROP. . . .—EVANGEL. IIII.—EPIST. AP. XXI.—ACT. AP. APOCA. Here the coincidences with Cassiodorus begin, for these titles, as Dr. Corssen notes, correspond with only one exception to the nine MSS. described by Cassiodorus in the earlier chapters of the *Institutio* ; these were

'c. i. Primus scripturarum diuinarum codex est *Octateuchus*. c. ii. In secundo *Regum* codice. c. iii. Ex omni igitur *Prophetarum* codice tertio. c. iv. Sequitur *Psalterium* codex quartus. c. v. Quintus codex est *Salomonis*. c. vi. Sequitur *Hagiographorum* codex sextus. c. vii. Septimus igitur codex . . . quattuor *Euangelistarum* superna luce resplendet. c. viii. Octauus codex *Canonicas Epistolas* continet *Apostolorum*. c. ix. Nonus igitur codex *Actus Apostolorum* et *Apocalypsin* noscitur continere.'

Fol. 6 contains, in tables depending from the Lamb, the Hieronymian division of the sacred books ; and the likeness between this and the Hieronymian division of the *Institutio* c. xii, will be seen by printing them side by side. It is indeed far closer than Corssen imagined, for he had only

<sup>1</sup> Only one Epistle of Peter is noticed in this list ; the *Codex* itself of course contains the second as well.

<sup>2</sup> *Academy*, Apr. 7, 1888.

the printed text of Cassiodorus to go by, which is known to be in a wretched state. Dr. Westcott collated the British Museum MSS. of the *Institutio* for c. xiv. in his *History of the Canon*, ed. 5, p. 573; and a comparison of the text thus amended with the Amiatine *Epiphanian* and *Hilarian* list (see next page) showed the two to be so near to each other that I have thought it worth while to collate these MSS. for the other lists also. They are Reg. 13 A. xxi. 7 (α); Cotton Vesp. (not Claud. as Westcott cites) B. 13. 8 (β); Reg. 10 B. xv. 2 (γ); Reg. 5 B. viii. 6 (δ).

I have formed the text throughout from α, which seems the closest to the Amiatine text; giving the variants of the other MSS. and of the printed texts, except in cases of mere orthography, below.

CASS. DE INST. DIV. LITT. c. xii.

Auctoritas diuina secundum sanctum Iheronimum in testamentis<sup>1</sup> duobus ita diuiditur id est in uetus et nouum. In lege<sup>2</sup> id est in<sup>3</sup> Genesim, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numerorum, Deuteronomium. In prophetis<sup>4</sup> Iesu Naue, Iudicum, Ruth, Samuel, Ysayas, Iheremias, Ezechiel<sup>5</sup>, libri duodecim prophetarum. In agyographis<sup>6</sup> Iob, Dauid, Salomon, Prouerbia, Ecclesiastes<sup>7</sup>, Canticum Canticorum, Uerba dierum, id est Paralipomenon, Ezras, Hester. In Euangeliis<sup>8</sup>, Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes<sup>9</sup>. Epistole Apostolorum, Petri due, Pauli quatuordecim, Iohannis tres, Iacobi una, Iude

AMIATINUS, p. 6.

Auctoritas diuina continetur in testamenta duo id est in uetus et in nouum.

In lege: Genesis, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numerorum, Deuteronomium.

In prophetis: Iesu Naue, Iudicum et Ruth, Samuhel, Malachian, Esaias, Hieremias, Hiezeihel, Liber duodecim prophetarum. In agiographis: Iob, Dauid, Salom., Prouerbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum, Danihel, Uerba dierum id est Paralip., Ezras, Hester. In Euangeliis: Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes. Epist. Apost.: Pauli Apostoli xiiii, Petri Apost. ii, Iohann. Apost. iii, Iacobi Ap.

<sup>1</sup> testamenta duo *edd.*    <sup>2</sup> legem βγδ *edd.*    <sup>3</sup> om. in βγδ *edd.*    <sup>4</sup> prophetas βγδ *edd.*; + qui sunt *edd.*

+ qui sunt *edd.*

<sup>8</sup> Euangelistas + qui sunt *edd.*

<sup>5</sup> + Daniel *edd.*

<sup>7</sup> Ecclesiasticum βγδ, Ecclesiasticus *edd.*

<sup>9</sup> + post hos sequuntur *edd.*

una. In Actibus Apostolorum<sup>1</sup>.  
In Apocalipsi Johannis<sup>2</sup>. . .

Huic (i.e. to the Old Testament, which Jerome divided into twenty-two books, the number of the letters of the Hebrew Alphabet) etiam adiecti sunt Noui Testamenti libri uiginti septem, qui colliguntur simul quadraginta nouem. Quo<sup>3</sup> numero adde omnipotentem et indiuisibilem Trinitatem, per quam hec facta et propter quam ista praedicta sunt, et quinquagenarius numerus indubitanter efficitur, quia<sup>4</sup> ad instar iubilei anni magna pietate beneficii debita relaxat et pure penitentium peccata dissoluit.

i, Iudae Ap. i. Act. Apost.:  
Actus Apostolorum Liber unus.  
Apocalypsi: Apocalypsin Liber unus.

Sic fiunt ueteris nouique testamenti secundum Hieronymum libri quadraginta nouem quibus adde dominum Christum de quo et per quem ista conscripta sunt fit quinquagenarius numerus qui ad instar iobelei anni debita remittit et paenitentium peccata dissoluit.

Fol. 7 contains the Hilarian and Epiphanian divisions, written under the human or quasi-human head; here again we may compare Cassiodorus:—

CASSIODORUS' ANTIQUA TRANSLATIO, c. xiv.

AMIATINUS, p. 7.

Scriptura sancta secundum antiquam translationem in testamenta duo ita diuiditur id est in uetus et in<sup>5</sup> nouum. In Genesim, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numerorum, Deutronomium, Iesu Naue, Iudicum, Ruth, Regum libri<sup>6</sup> quatuor, Paralipomenon<sup>7</sup> duo, Psalterii<sup>8</sup>, Salomonis libri quinque id est Prouerbia,

Scriptura sancta diuiditur in testamenta duo id est in uetus et in nouum. Genesi, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numerorum, Deutronomium, Iesu Naue, Iudicum, Ruth, Regum libri iiii, Paralipomenon libri ii, Psalmorum lib. v, Salom. lib. v id est Prouerbia, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticum, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum, Pro-

<sup>1</sup> Actuum Apostolorum *edd.*; + Lucae liber unus γδ *edd.*; + Lucae unus liber β. <sup>2</sup> In Apocalypsin Johannis liber unus βγδ; et Apocalypsis Joannis liber unus *edd.* <sup>3</sup> cui *edd.* <sup>4</sup> qui *edd.* <sup>5</sup> om. in *edd.* <sup>6</sup> libros *edd.* et *infra.* <sup>7</sup> libros duos *edd.* <sup>8</sup> + unus βγδ; + librum unum *edd.*

Sapientie, Ecclesiasticum, Ecclesiastes, Canticum canticorum. Prophete id est Ysayas, Iheremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Osee, Amos, Micheas, Iohel, Abdias, Ionas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachim qui et angelus, Iob, Tobi, Hester, Iudith, Ezre duo, Machabeorum duo.

Euangelia quatuor id est Mathei<sup>1</sup>, Marci, Luce, Iohannis, Actus apostolorum; epistole Petri ad Gentes<sup>2</sup>; Iacobi<sup>3</sup>, Iohannis ad Parthos, epistole Pauli ad Romanos una, ad Chorinthios due, ad Galathas una, ad Philipenses una, ad Ephesios una<sup>4</sup>, ad Colossenses una, ad Hebreos una, ad Thessalonicenses due, ad Timotheum due, ad Titum una<sup>5</sup>, ad Philemonem una, Apocalipsin Iohannis . . . Translatio ueteris Testamenti in libris quadraginta quatuor continetur. Cui subiuncti<sup>6</sup> sunt noui Testamenti libri uiginti sex, fiuntque simul libri septuaginta; in illo palmarum numero fortasse presagati quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebreorum . . . nos omnia tria genera diuisionum iudicauimus affigenda ut inspecta diligenter atque tractata, non in pugnare sed inuicem se potius exponere uideantur. Unde licet

phetae id est Esaias, Hieremias, Ezechiel, Danihel, Osee, Amos, Micheas, Iohel, Abdias, Ionas, Naum, Ambacum, Sofonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachim qui et Angelus, Iob, Tobis, Hester, Iudith, Esdrae libri duo, Machabeorum libri duo. Euangelia iiii id est Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes, Actus Apostolorum, Epist. Petri ad Gentes, Iacobi, Iohannis ad Parthos, Epist. Pauli apost. id est ad Rom. i, ad Corint. ii, ad Galatas i, ad Philip. i, ad Colos. i, ad Ephesios i, ad Thessalonicenses ii, ad Timotheum ii, ad Titum i, ad Philemonem i, Apocalypsin Iohannis euangelistae.

Sic fiunt ueteris nouique Testamenti sicut diuidit sanctus Hilarius (Hilarius *m. p.*) Romanae urbis antistes et Epiphanius Cyprius, quem latino fecimus sermoni transferri Libri lxx in illo palmarum numerum fortasse praesagati quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebreorum.

<sup>1</sup> Euangelium quatuor id est matheus βγδ; Post haec sequuntur euangelistae quatuor i. e. m. *edd.*; *deinde* marcus lucas iohannes βγδ *edd.* <sup>2</sup> + iudae *edd.*

<sup>3</sup> + ad duodecim tribus *edd.* <sup>4</sup> ad Ephesios duae δ; *om. edd.*

<sup>5</sup> *tr.* ad Tit. una ad Tim. due β.

<sup>6</sup> subiecti βγδ.



multi patres, id est Sanctus Hy-larius Pictauensis urbis antistes, et Rufinus presbiter Aquilei-ensis, et Epiphanius episcopus Cipri, et sinodus Nicena uel [et *edd.*] Calcedonensis non contraria dixerunt sed diuersa; omnes ta-men per diuisiones suas libros diuinos sacramentis competenti-bus aptauerunt.

Cf. c. v. Epiphanius antistes Cyprius totum librum graeco sermone uno volumine sub bre-uitate complexus est. Hunc nos ut alios in Latinam linguam per amicum nostrum uirum diser-tissimum Epiphanium fecimus, Domino iuuante, transferri.

Fol. 7 *b* contains the Pentateuch circles described above (p. 16). In these circles is disposed the following writing:—

- 1st circle. Manifestissima est Genesis in qua de creatura mundi, de exordio humani generis, et gente usque ad Aegyptum scribitur Hebr.
- 2nd circle. Patet Exodus cum decem plagis, decalogo, cum mys-ticis Scripturis, diuinisque praeceptis.
- 3rd circle. In promptu est Leuiticus Lib. in quo singula sacrificia et uestes Aaron et totus ordo Leuiticus spirant caelestia sacram.
- 4th circle. Numeri uero nonne totius arithmeticae et mensura terrae, et xl duarum per heremum mansion. mysteria continent.
- 5th circle. Deuteronomium quoque secunda Lex et euangelicae legis praefiguratio, nonne sic ea habet quae propria sunt ut tamen noua sint omnia de ueteribus.

Fol. 8 contains the Augustinian division of Holy Scripture (under the Dove); here again we may compare with Cas-siodorus:

CASS. c. xiii.

AMIATINUS, p. 8.

Scriptura diuina secundum beatum Augustinum in Testamenta<sup>1</sup> duo ita diuiditur, id est in uetus et in nouum<sup>2</sup>. In hystoria<sup>3</sup> libri uiginti duo id est Moysy libri quinque, Iesu Naue liber unus, Iudicum liber unus, Ruth liber unus, Regum libri quatuor, Paralipomenon libri duo, Job liber unus, Tob<sup>4</sup> liber unus, Hester<sup>5</sup> liber unus, Iudith liber unus, Ezre<sup>6</sup> libri duo<sup>7</sup>, Machabeorum libri duo. In Prophetis libri uigintiduo, Dauid Psalterium<sup>8</sup> liber unus, Salomon libri tres<sup>9</sup>, Iesu filii Sirach libri duo<sup>10</sup>, Prophete maiores quatuor, id est Ysayas, Iheremias, Daniel<sup>11</sup>, Ezechiel; et minores duodecim, id est Osee, Iohel, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, Micheas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Zacharias, Aggeus, Malachim.

In epistolis Apostolorum<sup>12</sup> id est Pauli apostoli ad Romanos una, ad Corinthios due, ad Galathas una, ad Ephesios una, ad Philipenses una, ad Thessalonicenses due, ad Colosenses una, ad Timotheum due, ad Titum una, ad Philemonem una, ad Hebreos una, Petri due, Ioannis tres, Iude una, Iacobi una. In Euangelis quatuor, id est secundum Matheum,

Scriptura sancta diuiditur in uetus in nouum. In Historia libri N. xxii id est Mosi lib. v, Ihesu Naue lib. i, Iudic. lib. i, Ruth lib. i, Reg. lib. iii, Paral. lib. ii, Iob lib. i, Tob<sup>4</sup> lib. i, Hester lib. i, Iudith lib. i, Esdrae lib. ii, Machabeor. lib. ii.

In prophetiam libri N. xxii, id est Dauid Psalm. lib. i, Sal. lib. iii, Iesu filii Sirach lib. ii, Prophetarum id est Osee, Iohel, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, Micheas, Naum, Habacuc, Sofon., Zach., Agg., Mal., Esaia, Hier., Dan. et Hez. lib. N. xvi.

In euangelia quattuor secundum Matheum, secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Iohannem. In Epistolas Apostolorum xxi, id est Pauli Apost. ad Rom. i, ad Cor. ii, ad Gal. i, ad Efes. i, ad Phil. i, ad Thessal. ii, ad Col. i, ad Tim. ii, ad Tit. i, ad Fil. i, ad Heb. i, Petri duae, Ioh. iii, Iudae i, Iac. i. In Actus Apostolorum lib. i. In Apocalypsin Iohan. lib. i.

<sup>1</sup> Testamentum β.<sup>2</sup> in uetus et nouum *edd.*<sup>3</sup> + sunt *edd.*<sup>4</sup> Tobiae *edd.*<sup>5</sup> Esther *edd.*<sup>6</sup> Esdre βγδ; Esdrae *edd.*<sup>7</sup> liber

unus αβγδ.

<sup>8</sup> psalmorum *edd.*<sup>9</sup> quatuor *edd.*<sup>10</sup> liber unus *edd.*<sup>11</sup> ezechiel daniel *edd.*<sup>12</sup> + uiginti una *edd.*

secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Iohannem. In Actibus Apostolorum liber unus. In Apocalipsin<sup>1</sup> liber unus. Beatus igitur Augustinus secundum praeatos nouem codices, quos sancta meditaturs Ecclesia, secundo libro de doctrina Christiana, Scripturas diuinas septuaginta unius librorum calculo comprehendit: quibus cum sancte Trinitatis addideris unitatem fit totius libre<sup>2</sup> competens et gloriosa perfectio.

Sic fiunt ueteris nouique Testamenti sicut pater Augustinus in Libris de doctrina christiana complexus est simul libri N. lxxi quibus adde unitatem diuinam per quam ista completa sunt fit totius Librae competens et gloriosa perfectio; ipsa est enim rerum conditrix et uitalis omnium plenitudo uirtutum.

At the top of the page:—

Eloquium domini quaecumque uolumina pandunt

Spiritus hoc sancto fudit ab ore deus.

The reader will not fail to notice the striking similarity between the lists of Cassiodorus and those of the Amiatinus. In the Hieronymian division the differences are only of the smallest nature; Cassiodorus has *Iudicum Ruth* instead of *Iudicum et Ruth*, omits *Malachian* and *Danichel*, and in the New Testament places St. Peter's Epistles after, instead of before, St. Paul's; he obtains the required total of forty-nine then by counting *Iudicum* and *Ruth* as two books, while Amiatinus takes them as one; his real total however is forty-eight. Amiatinus, by the addition of *Danichel* and *Malachian*, obtains the full total of forty-nine. In both cases *Salom.* (whether *Salomon* or *Salomonis*) appears to be an introductory title, covering *Prov. Eccl. Cant.*

In the Augustinian division, which Cassiodorus tells us he took from the *De doctrina Christiana* ii. 13, he places the four greater prophets before, instead of after, the lesser (here the Amiatinus agrees with the order of the *De doctrina*); and in the New Testament he has the Evangelists after the Epistles.

In the third division, the Hilarian and Epiphanian of the Amiatinus, the *antiqua uersio* of Cassiodorus, the differ-

<sup>1</sup> apocalypsi *edd.*

<sup>2</sup> libri *edd.*

ences are more noticeable. Cassiodorus counts one, not five, books of the Psalms; and in the New Testament places Ephesians before Colossians, and inserts the Epistle to the Hebrews, which the Codex omits. Both the lists, Dr. Corssen notes, have *Iohannis ad Parthos*, without any intimation of the number of St. John's Epistles; and as in this list the numbers are usually added, where more than one Epistle is reckoned, it would seem probable that this canon included only one Epistle of St. John, especially as the expression *Epistula ad Parthos* is frequently used for the first Epistle, but does not seem known as a title for all three. Both lists emphasise the number seventy as the sum of the books of the Old and New Testaments, but we must add them up on different principles in each case, to obtain the required total. Cassiodorus gives us forty-four books in the Old Testament, counting the Psalms as one book; the remaining twenty-six in the New Testament being obtainable only by counting three epistles of St. John. Amiatinus, on the other hand, counts five books of the Psalms, making forty-eight books in the Old Testament; to bring the total down to seventy then we must reduce four books in the New; this can only be done by counting one Epistle of St. John, and one of St. Peter (*Epist. Petri ad Gentes* having no number added), which with the omission of the Hebrews enables us to obtain the required number. Cassiodorus indeed was aware of the five-fold division of the Psalter, as he states it was known to Jerome, though Epiphanius preferred to speak of the book of the Psalms as one<sup>1</sup>.

Even more marked are the variations in the explanatory matter. The Amiatinus refers the list to the combined authority of Hilary and Epiphanius; Cassiodorus does not state his

<sup>1</sup> Cass. in *Psalterium* c. xii. Dr. Corssen notes that the reference is incorrect, for Jerome, *Praef. in Libr. Psalm. ad Sophronium*, rejects the five-fold division on the authority of the Hebrew, and of the Apostles, who in the New Testament speak of it as one book; similarly Hilary, *Prol. in Libr. Psalm.*, mentions the five-fold division only to reject it: *Nos secundum apostolicam auctoritatem 'Librum Psalmorum' et nuncupamus et scribimus.*

source, and introduces the two fathers in a somewhat different connection, hinting that each had his own method of dividing the sacred books, though these were *non contraria sed diuersa*. The Amiatine citation of Hilary and Epiphanius again does not agree with its omission of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which Hilary held to be of Pauline authorship, nor would its *Psalmorum lib. v.*, commend itself to his views as to the Psalter<sup>1</sup>; while Epiphanius adhered to the Canon of Athanasius, and in the order of books in the New Testament agreed with Jerome's list *ad Paulinum*<sup>2</sup>.

What can be then the relation of these lists to each other? Their agreement shows it to be a close one, their variations would seem to prevent it being that of direct copying. But we have at any rate shown that Cassiodorus possessed a *Codex Grandior*, which must certainly have been a Latin Bible, for the whole context of c. xiv. of the *Institutio*<sup>3</sup> shows this, and distinguishes it from the *Graecus Pandectes* mentioned later; this Latin *Codex Grandior* possessed three lists of the sacred books, and the *Codex Amiatinus* presents also three lists, almost, if not precisely, similar.

We have, however, to notice yet another mark of affinity between the two books. Folios 2*b* and 3 of the Amiatinus contain a carefully-drawn view of the Tabernacle; Cassiodorus in the *Institutio*, c. v., mentions a certain blind man named Eusebius, who, as a compensation for his loss of sight, was gifted with a wonderfully retentive memory; this Eusebius *commonuit etiam tabernaculum templumque Domini ad instar caeli fuisse formatum quae depicta subtiliter lineamentis propriis in 'Pandecte Latino corporis grandioris' competenter aptauit*; so that Cassiodorus' *Codex Grandior* also contained a page with the Tabernacle, for it would seem to be almost certain that the Codex thus mentioned is identical with that in

<sup>1</sup> See note on last page.

<sup>2</sup> *Epiph. adv. Haeres.* iii. tom. i, haer. 76, conf. 5; Jerome, *Ep.* liii; cf. Westcott, *Canon*, pp. 554, 567 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hort in *Academy*, Feb. 26, 1887.

c. xiv<sup>1</sup>. Here again another link between this book and the *Codex Amiatinus* is supplied us by Bede. Dr. Hort<sup>2</sup> quotes two passages from Bede's minor works; in his tract on the Tabernacle<sup>3</sup>: *Quomodo in pictura Cassiodori senatoris, cuius ipse in expositione Psalmorum meminit, expressum uidimus*; and again in his tract on Solomon's temple<sup>4</sup>: *Has uero porticus Cassiodorus senator in Pandectis, ut ipse Psalmorum expositione commemorat, triplici ordine distinxit*, adding below *Haec ut in pictura Cassiodori reperimus distincta*. Dr. Hort justly remarks that this is the language of a man who had seen with his own eyes the identical representation of the Tabernacle and the Temple which Cassiodorus inserted in his Pandect; and there is no evidence that Bede was ever in Italy, or indeed further south than York. The conclusion would therefore seem to follow that the *Codex Grandior* of Cassiodorus must have been brought to England and to the library of Wearmouth or of Jarrow, and there possibly have been placed on the same shelf with the *Codex Amiatinus*.

A still further supposition seemed at one time possible both to Dr. Hort and Dr. Corssen<sup>5</sup>; might not the first quaternion of the *Amiatinus* be not a transcript but actually a part of Cassiodorus' *Codex Grandior*? There is much which strikes one at first sight in favour of such a view; the parchment is not quite so tall as that of the other gatherings, and certainly seems somewhat darker and thicker; the gathering is not signed, and the second quaternion beginning the Bible is marked I; and the writing of the lists and prefatory matter is in a different hand from that of the body of the book. Further, there is only one other page in the book which contains pictorial representation; this is fol. 796 b, the page which divides the Old from the New Testament, and the picture is that of our Lord with the Evangelists and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Expos. in Psalm. xiv*: *Dei tabernaculum . . . quod nos fecimus pingi et in pandectis maioris capite collocari*.

<sup>2</sup> *Academy*, Feb. 26, 1887.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 12 (vii. 307 Giles).

<sup>4</sup> c. 16 (viii. 314 f. Giles); the references are in the first instance from De Rossi.

<sup>5</sup> *Academy*, June 11, 1887.

their symbols; this is in the judgment of Prof. Browne<sup>1</sup> quite different in style from those in the first quaternion, and looks like a late and poor copy of earlier work, the drawing being inferior and the colours bad. The ornamentation, too, of the first quaternion, and especially the Ezra picture, could not at any rate have been *designed* in England. If Dr. Hamann is sure from the general orthography of the MS. that it was copied directly from an Italian, not a North-British exemplar, Prof. Browne is equally convinced that the draughtsman of the Ezra picture shows in his peculiar ornamentation the immediate influence of Ravenna or Rome. 'It seems fairly certain,' he says, 'that the Ezra picture was drawn in Ravenna, the home of Cassiodorus for so many years;' and he suggests that a mosaic in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia supplied the features, the book-case, and the stool on which Ezra is sitting: 'it seems impossible to doubt that Ezra's book-case was copied from this.'

If we examine the contents of the Prologue also, and the Amiatine list of books, we find that here too they do not agree with the actual books of the Manuscript; the Prologue (p. 290) lays stress on the mystic number 70 as being the total of the books of the Bible, but the next page (36) begins the Amiatine division with *In hoc codice continentur ueteris et noui Testamenti Libri No. lxxi*; the list itself, if we count Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Esdras as two books each, gives us a total of 70, and in the Codex itself, which inserts the Second Epistle of Peter, omitted in the list, we have again 71<sup>2</sup>; thus the list and Prologue agree neither with themselves nor with the actual contents, and may well be as truly Cassiodorian as the other lists: Corssen, indeed, noted long ago<sup>3</sup> that the Prologue seemed to have nothing to do with the present *Codex Amiatinus*, and might well be a piece of true Cassiodorian work, and the reference to

<sup>1</sup> *Academy*, April 30, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, in *Theol. Literaturz*, 1887, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Bibeln des Cass.* p. 625.

the palm-trees at Elim seems certainly to be a reference to the *Institutio*, c. xiv.

Here certainly is much which makes for the view that the first quaternion was bodily transferred from the *Codex Grandior* to its present place. The *Codex Grandior* was certainly in North Britain, for Bede saw it there. It may well have been the *Pandectes uetustae translationis* which Benedict Biscop or Ceolfrid brought from Rome; and it would be quite in keeping with the times had Ceolfrid, in presenting his magnificent new Pandect to the Holy See, tacked into it the quaternion, which had hitherto stood at the beginning of Cassiodorus' own Old-Latin Pandect.

Difficulties however meet us as we examine this hypothesis closely. The first indeed which suggested itself to Dr. Corssen was a chronological one; it was that Bede's language shows him to have seen the Cassiodorian Pandect himself, while the *Codex Amiatinus* left England in 715; but as Bede was born in 674, he would have had ample time to have seen the pictures in their original place and to have described them, before they left England. But the other arguments in favour of the identity are not really so strong as they seem; though the parchment of the first quaternion struck Prof. Browne<sup>1</sup> as looking somewhat darker and older than that of the rest of the MS., this, as Dr. Hort remarks<sup>2</sup>, is but a trifling matter, and it can hardly be expected that in such a large MS. as this, it would be of the same quality throughout. The fact of the gathering being without a signature proves nothing, as in other MSS. the gatherings are sometimes without signatures for the prefatory matter<sup>3</sup>. A more important point is the difference of writing. That the handwriting in the first quaternion is different from the body of the work is certain; whether it be earlier is not quite so sure a point; and Dr. Corssen is of

<sup>1</sup> And also the present writer when he examined the MS. in May, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> *Academy*, Jan. 19, 1889.

<sup>3</sup> As in the *Echternach Gospels*, Paris Lat. 9389, where the first signature is on f. 24 at the beginning of the Gospel, the prefatory matter being written on unsigned gatherings.



opinion that the three biblical lists resemble in their style the *writing of the corrections and marginal notes of the text*. Of course if they can be proved to be in the same hand the question is settled, and the preliminary quaternion may be later, or possibly contemporary, but certainly not earlier than the rest of the book; but on this point we still await the judgment of a skilled palaeographer.

The inferiority, again, of the picture in the middle of the book to those in the first quaternion is no argument for dating the latter a century earlier; it only suggests that two scribes were at work on the volume, and that the second, who may have been at work only a few months after the first, was a less skilful artist. The argument from the Italian character of the ornamentation is somewhat stronger, as British scribes were not often in the habit of slavishly copying foreign work; still a Roman scribe may have copied this ornamentation, as we saw reason above to suppose he may possibly have written the rest of the book (p. 285). At any rate all that the ornamentation proves is that it was *designed* in Italy; it may have been *copied* in England.

If we examine the contents of the quaternion, especially the Prologue and Amiatine list, we find that if they do not suit well with the actual present MS., neither would they suit the *Codex Grandior*. The first quaternion gives us, we must remember, *four* divisions of Scripture; Amiatine, Hieronymian, Hilarian and Epiphanian, and Augustinian; the *Codex Grandior*, according to the *Institutio*, c. xiv, would seem to have contained only three, and the actual books of the Bible followed the order of the *antiqua translatio*. In any case, then, the *Prologue* and *Amiatine list* must have been added later, and could not have formed part of the original *Codex Grandior*.

A still further difficulty awaits us as we examine Bede's words and those of Cassiodorus with regard to the Tabernacle and the Temple. Fols. 2 and 2b of the Amiatinus contain, as we saw, a carefully drawn bird's-eye view of the

Tabernacle, but there is no representation in the quaternion as we now have it of Solomon's Temple; Cassiodorus, however, in the *Institutio*, c. v, speaks very distinctly of the *Tabernaculum Templumque Domini*, though in the treatise on the Psalms he speaks only of the Tabernacle.

Bede, in describing (see above, p. 300) the Temple, referred to, as he says, in Cassiodorus' Exposition of the Psalms, mentions some features—the triple portico—which are not found in the Amiatine picture<sup>1</sup>. De Rossi's explanation of this difference seems all that could be desired, but it proves, at any rate, that the first quaternion of the *Codex Amiatinus* cannot have been 'bodily transferred,' as was at first supposed, from the *Codex Grandior*. Bede, he supposes, is citing from memory, and so confuses together the two distinct passages of Cassiodorus, that in the *Institutio*, mentioning the Tabernacle and Temple, and that in the Psalms, mentioning only the Tabernacle. It would appear that the *Codex Grandior* originally possessed the two pictures; but what has become of the Temple sheet if, or when, it was transferred to the Amiatinus? The loss of such a valuable sheet is a serious difficulty in the way of the identity of the two quaternions. Bede's description of the Tabernacle, again (*De Tabernaculo*, c. xii), does not quite, though it does very nearly, suit the Amiatine picture. He says:—

'Erat contra aulam ostium in paviate altaris orientalis unde uel ligna ad alendum ignem immitti uel carbones et cineres possent egeri; quomodo in pictura Cassiodori Senatoris, cuius ipse in expositione psalmorum meminit, expressum uidimus (or uidemus); in qua etiam utrique altari, et holocausti uidelicet et incensi, pedes quattuor fecit. Quod utrumque eum, sicut et tabernaculi et templi positionem, a doctoribus Judaeorum didicisse putamus.'

Here, as De Rossi remarks, the description of Bede agrees with the Amiatine picture, with the exception of the *ostium* in the side of the altar, which is omitted in the picture.

<sup>1</sup> De Rossi, *La Bibbia Offerta*, etc., Roma 1887, p. 19 f., and *De Origine*, etc., *Bibl. Sedis Apost.* p. lxxviii.

This certainly is a difficulty, but we must remember that there may be two solutions of it: one, that the picture described by Bede was neither the Amiatine nor its immediate exemplar; another, that Bede was describing from memory in this passage, and consequently was not perfectly accurate. This is indeed likely if Bede was writing towards the end of his life, and the Codex with the picture of the Tabernacle had left England in 715; and it is just possible, as Prof. Browne suggests, that the missing *Temple* sheet was taken out of the quaternion in order to make room for the sheet with the Amiatine Prologue and list of contents, and remained at Wearmouth and Jarrow: there it would be often seen afterwards by Bede, and his curious difference of expression *reperimus distincta* of the Temple, *expressum uidimus* of the Tabernacle, would meet with an explanation<sup>1</sup>. The language of Bede, then, would seem to leave us in doubt as to the identity of the Cassiodorian and Amiatine picture; the question must be solved on other grounds.

We now have to consider the last and most intricate point of all, the original order of leaves in the quaternion, though this again, however interesting as an exercise in reconstruction, cannot have, I venture to think, the decisive influence imagined by some writers, on its relation to the *Codex Grandior*. The order of leaves, as we saw (p. 288), has been twice disturbed. At present it is Fol. 1 blank, Fol. 1 *b* Dedication verses; 2 blank, 2 *b* and 3 Tabernacle picture; 3 *b* blank; 4 Prologue and 4 *b* contents (purple sheet); 5 Ezra picture, 5 *b* blank; 6 Hieronymian division (Lamb), 6 *b* blank; 7 Hilarian and Epiphanian division (Man), 7 *b* Pentateuch circles; 8 Augustinian division (Dove), 8 *b* blank<sup>2</sup>. Fols. 1 and 8 are one piece; 2 and 3 are one piece, mounted

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Corssen (*Academy*, Apr. 7 and May 26, 1888) doubts the existence of the two pictures, and is convinced, from the language of Cassiodorus, that the Tabernacle and Temple are identical; I am bound to say, however, that De Rossi's explanation seems to me the more natural.

<sup>2</sup> *Academy*—Prof. Browne, Apr. 30, 1887, Dr. Hort, June 11, 1887, Dr. Corssen, April 7, 1888, Prof. Browne, May 5, 1888, Dr. Hort, Jan. 19, 1889.

on a guard not sewn in ; 4 is a single page on a guard with 7 mounted on the same guard and pasted on to the heel of 4 ; 5 and 6 are one piece, and the sewing is here ; 6 *b* has at one time stood next to 8, for part of the couplet on the top of 8, *Eloquium domini* etc., has been impressed backwards on 6 *b* ; as a consequence of this, 5 must have also come after 1 ; the Tabernacle sheet 2 and 3 must have stood 4 and 5, as the middle sheet of the quaternion is the only position in which the picture could have been seen. We are certain, then, of the exact position of fols. 2 and 3, and of the relative positions of 1 and 8, 5 and 6 ; and if 1 and 8 originally stood outside, as the condition of 8 *b* suggests, then 5 and 6 stood 2 and 7, and the remaining two leaves, separate but sewn together again, 4 and 7, must have stood 3 and 6. Such was the order proposed at first by Prof. Browne, and partly agreed to by Dr. Hort, who argued however that the Pentateuch circle (7 *b*) would have come more naturally after, not between, the lists, and that the Hilarian list (7) is placed last in Cassiodorus ; he then placed 4 and 7 at 1 and 8, and the present 1 and 8 at 2 and 7, 5 and 6 going 3 and 6, and 2 and 3 as before, at 4 and 5. He imagined the Pentateuch circles to be later than the rest of the quaternion, except of course the Donation verses and contents. Dr. Corssen, however, maintained the writing of the Prologue to be the same as that of the Contents, and the Pentateuch circles the same as that of the Hilarian division, founding on this an argument for the post-Cassiodorian origin of the whole quaternion ; for if 4 and 7 were originally the same sheet, cut in two and sewn together again, as he imagined, by the last binder of the book<sup>1</sup>, it would follow that the writing of the Prologue, lists, and Pentateuch circles was the same as that of the contents, that is, not earlier than that of the rest of the MS. ; he agreed, however,

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Browne, in horror at the bare idea of such barbarism, exclaims, 'the modern binder *still lives*, and is still allowed to visit the Laurentiana !' (*Academy*, May 5, 1888.)

with Prof. Browne that 1 and 8 were probably still in their original places.

The final disquisition on the original order was given in the *Academy* of Jan. 18, 1889, by Dr. Hort, beyond which perhaps no one can attempt to go. We can hardly do more than give outlines of it in this Essay, which has already grown too long. Following a suggestion of Corssen's that the human head over the Hilarian division might be possibly intended for a representation of the first Person in the Trinity, he proposed to place that list first, the Hieronymian division with the Lamb, or symbol of the Second Person, coming next, and lastly, the Augustinian with the Dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit: this will again make the order of the lists the same as that originally suggested by Prof. Browne; the difficulties of the Pentateuch circles on 7 *b*, and the single purple sheet 4 he would resolve by supposing that they were transposed by the North-British scribe when he copied the Cassiodorian MS. Prof. Browne's supposition here seems more probable, that 4 and 7 were *not* originally the same sheet, but two separate sheets sewn together, the purple sheet being substituted by Ceolfrid for the lost Temple sheet. Dr. Hort, however, thinks the arrangement to have been a deliberate transposition by Ceolfrid, when he was obtaining a direct copy (for such he would seem to think it) of the Cassiodorian matter for his own Bible. The Cassiodorian quaternion was as follows:—  
1 and 1 *b* blank; 2 Ezra, 2 *b* blank; 3 Prologue, 3 *b* blank; 4 and 5 Tabernacle; 6 Hilarian list, 6 *b* blank; 7 Hieronymian list, 7 *b* blank; 8 Augustinian list, 8 *b* blank. Now Ceolfrid in a Vulgate Bible would naturally wish to place the Hieronymian list first, and in this endeavour would alter the arrangement as follows. The first row of numerals represent the present position of the leaves, the second their supposed original order:—

4	Prologue. (1)	1	blank. (2)
4 <i>b</i>	Contents. (1 <i>b</i> )	1 <i>b</i>	Donation verses. (2 <i>b</i> )

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5 Ezra. (3)	6 Hieronymian list. (6)
5 <i>b</i> blank. (3 <i>b</i> )	6 <i>b</i> blank. (6 <i>b</i> )
2 blank (4)	8 Augustinian list. (7)
2 <i>b</i> Tabernacle. (4 <i>b</i> )	8 <i>b</i> blank. (7 <i>b</i> )
3 Tabernacle. (5)	7 Hilarian list. (8)
3 <i>b</i> blank. (5 <i>b</i> )	7 <i>b</i> Pentateuch Circles. (8 <i>b</i> )

And with this arrangement we may rest satisfied. It seems to suggest that the first quaternion was at any rate a direct copy of the lost *Codex Grandior* of Cassiodorus; but the difficulties of the lost Temple sheet, and of the present state of fols. 4 and 7, do not seem entirely answered by it, and perhaps never can be.

## APPENDIX

## ON THE ITALIAN ORIGIN OF THE CODEX AMIATINUS AND THE LOCALIZING OF ITALIAN MSS.

[W. SANDAY.]

THE tests put forward by Dr. Hamann (p. 286 *supra*) in proof of the Italian origin of the *Codex Amiatinus* possess an importance which extends beyond the history of this particular MS. If they should be found to hold good, they would supply us with a welcome means of identifying other MSS. as Italian, and would so contribute to a process which is likely to be characteristic of the stage of textual criticism on which we are now entering.

It is coming to be realised more and more that in order to restore the text of an ancient document, especially of one with wide diffusion and attestation, much copied and therefore much corrupted, it is necessary first to know its history. And it is coming also to be realised that the external history of a text and its internal history must go hand in hand. They mutually strengthen and support each other. By pursuing both at once, relations are often suggested which would otherwise pass unperceived. Thus the first thing that we need to know about a MS. is when it was written, where it was written, and where its ancestors were written. Anything which helps us to find out this is of value.

We have several means at our command for ascertaining the birthplace of a MS. The most obvious is the occurrence of notes connecting it with a particular library or owner. These, however, far more often apply only to the later stages of its history, which are of less importance. A larger step is gained when an extant MS. can be identified with one of those in the ancient lists, e.g. in Becker's *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*. The palaeographical test is more delicate, and it is probable that as our knowledge of the different shades of handwriting increases, more use will be made of this than has been made hitherto. The last test is that

which is supplied by the occurrence of forms either of grammar or spelling which can be traced to some definite locality. This test, however, greatly needs more exact definition than it has yet received; and it is this which constitutes the interest of any fresh contribution to it.

These points of grammar and orthography are clearly a branch of the larger question of provincial Latin in general. In regard to this there may be said to be two schools: one, of which Schuchardt may be taken as the representative, admits indeed the distinction between literary Latin or the Latin of cultivated society and the vernacular Latin of common speech, but regards the latter as generally diffused throughout the whole of the Roman Empire, and not dialectically varied—or at least with no recognisable variations—in different localities<sup>1</sup>; the other maintains and lays stress upon these peculiarities. The only book with which I am acquainted directly dealing with the subject, Sittl's *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache* (Erlangen, 1882) takes this line.

It is much to have opened the subject and attacked it systematically, and Sittl deserves credit for bringing together a quantity of useful material; but any one who reads his book will, I think, rise from it with the sense that there is still a great deal to be done, and that stricter logic will have to be applied before assured conclusions can be arrived at.

The one great caution which seems to me to be most often forgotten is the difficulty of proving the negative side of the propositions involved. It is comparatively easy to prove that a certain usage existed in a certain locality; but then, before it can be said to be characteristic of that locality, it must be also proved that it did not exist or existed only sparingly in other localities. Nor is it enough simply to say that we have no evidence of it. That absence of evidence may be due to nothing more than the defects of our knowledge and scantiness of our materials. For instance, it is constantly asserted that such and such a usage is African because it occurs in Fronto or Apuleius or Tertullian or Cyprian or Arnobius. But how much of this turns upon a bare *argumentum ex silentio*, where the witnesses moreover are of necessity silent for the simple reason that they do not exist? For the two

<sup>1</sup> 'Dieses (das rustike Latein) erscheint auf den Denkmälern aller Gegenden eigentlich immer als ein und dasselbe' (*Vokalismus des Vulgarlateins*, i. 92; quoted by Sittl, p. 44).



centuries, roughly speaking, from the year 120 A. D. to the year 320 A. D., the great mass of the extant Latin literature is African. How easily might the balance be altered if we had as much literature from Italy or Gaul or Spain as we have from Africa! This is a consideration for which I do not think that nearly enough allowance is made.

On the other hand, there is a caution which must be observed on the opposite side. Isolated examples of a particular form or of a particular usage are consistent with the hypothesis that they are really foreign to the district in which they are found. To take a clear case: no inference can be drawn from the Latin inscriptions found in the East. These must proceed from travellers or immigrants who would bring with them the customs of their own homes; and, so far as we can tell, their homes might be anywhere in the Latin-speaking half of the Empire. So, too, there would be Italian settlers in Gaul or Spain, and African legionaries might find their way into Illyricum or Britain. In like manner we may know for certain that a MS. is Irish, English, or Merovingian, and yet it may contain forms which belong neither to France nor to any part of the British Islands, but which have been perpetuated from some other MS. of an altogether different and distant origin. The evidence is hedged about with drawbacks and qualifications of all kinds; and all that we can do is to bear these well in mind and discount our inferences accordingly.

The materials at our disposal are accumulating daily. First and foremost is the splendid *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, backed by other collections, such as those of Le Blant for Gaul and De Rossi for Christian Rome. Then come the critical editions with an apparatus ample enough for the purpose, such as would be preeminently the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Many single works would of course have to be added—notably Ribbeck's *Virgil*—and a most important contribution to this side of the subject is made by the appearance of the first fasciculus of Bishop Wordsworth's *Vulgate*. Some relevant statements of value may be extracted from the grammarians, but these must not at once be assumed to be trustworthy, because the range of observation on which they depend was often limited. And lastly, the Romance scholar will have an important voice in the matter, because he will be able to determine from existing forms the older forms which must have preceded them.

I very much hope that the subject may be systematically taken up. It is one to which, as it seems to me, a young scholar might devote himself both with interest and profit. The result of his work would be to furnish criteria which would be useful in many directions, and in the process of forming them he would acquire a great variety of knowledge. On a subject which lies somewhat outside my own department I may perhaps be forgiven for going to the more accessible sources, and for collecting some of my data in a rather desultory fashion. I confine myself for the present to testing the points put forward by Dr. Hamann.

The points so put forward as proving that *Codex Amiatinus* was either itself written in Italy, or at least copied from an Italian exemplar, are as follows:—

**S = X**: homo senes, Jud. xix. 16, 17; senia (ξένια), Ecclus. xx. 31.

**N inserted**: gigans, Job xvi. 15; optimantium, Jer. xxv. 36.

**C inserted before X**: anxius, Ps. cxlii. 4; unexit, 1 Reg. x. 1.

**Sub assimilated before S**: sussaltastis, Ps. cxlii. 6.

**Ad assimilated before M**: ammirata, Apoc. xiii. 3; quem-ammodum, Luc. viii. 47.

**A = AU**: agusto, 2 Par. xv. 16; ascultabant, Act. viii. 10.

**O = AU**: clodum, Matt. xviii. 8.

**U = AU**: cluserunt, 2 Par. xxix. 7.

**A = E**: adtractaverit, Gen. xxvii. 12.

**E = I**: redemet, Ps. liv. 19.

**Vowel prefixed to S impure**: histriatarum, 3 Reg. vii. 24.

**S = EX**: ? espendebat, Judith xiii. 8; scandescet, Sap. v. 23.

**Vowel dropped before S impure**: Spaniae, 1 Macc. viii. 3.

**PH = P, DI = Z**: tophadius (topazus), Ezech. xxviii. 13.

**Dropping of final M**: totum belli impetu, 2 Par. xxxii. 2; in tantum arrogantiae tumore, Esth. xvi. 12; incidemus in manu Dei et non in manus hominum, Ecclus. ii. 22.

We will take these points in order.

**S = X**. From Campania, Bruttium and Lucania there are three examples of *visit* (= *vixit*); from Calabria and the Eastern side of the peninsula four examples; from Latium four examples (two each of *visit* and *bisit*); from Cisalpine Gaul two examples, *conius* and *sestum*; from Sardinia three examples, *coius* twice and *visit*. From Spain we get only one extremely doubtful example of *es* (= *ex*); but from Gallia Narbonensis there are several, *coius*, *Santiypa*, *sesta* (from a Christian inscription ascribed by Le Blant

to the sixth century), *supples* (also Christian) *viset*, *bisit*. In Africa, too, there are six examples (two each of *conius* and *visit*), besides the proper name *Estricata* five times<sup>1</sup>.

Turning to MSS. there are two or three examples in Ribbeck's MSS. of Virgil<sup>2</sup> which may be presumed to be Italian. There are also two examples (*senes* and *senis*), which appear to be original in the text of Jordanes, who wrote in Italy. Many MSS. of Sedulius, including the oldest, the famous Turin MS. in capitals of the seventh century (Zangemeister and Wattenbach, *Exemp. Codd. Lat.* pl. 16), in *Pasch. Carm.* iv. 2 read *maestum*, one MS. of the eighth century *mestum*. Huemer has printed *mixtum*, on much inferior authority, because of the parallel passage of Juvenecus; but it does not follow that because Juvenecus in Spain wrote *mixtus* before 337 A.D. therefore Sedulius may not have written *mistus* or *maestus* in a different region and more than a century later. Sedulius may be taken to represent Italian usage. One group of MSS. has a note to the effect that he taught philosophy in Italy, but wrote his heroics in Achaia: and there is more reason to believe than to doubt the first part of this statement. I have not been able to find another instance of this interchange in his works, but I will not say that there are none. The one writer of whom it seems clear that he habitually wrote *senes* or *senis* is Venantius Fortunatus. These forms occur no less than twelve times in his poetical works, with a strong preponderance of MS. authority. There is a more even balance between *senes* and *senis*, but *senes* throughout seems to have been rightly admitted into the text. If Venantius Fortunatus had stood alone there might have been a doubt whether the tradition which he represented was Italian or Gallican. He was born in North Italy, near Treviso, but spent the greater part of his life in a monastery at Poitiers. We have, however, already had the evidence of inscriptions for the neighbouring province of Gallia Narbonensis. There is also at least one well attested example of *senes* in Gregory of Tours; *senes*

<sup>1</sup> Corssen (*Aussprache*, i. 297) remarks on the tendency for the guttural element in *x* to be lost before *c* and *t*: *Estricatus* and *Estricata* are among his instances: he gives a number of others, most of which appear to be derived from Italy or Africa.

<sup>2</sup> The true Latin form is of course *Vergilius*, but in English it seems best to keep the familiar 'Virgil.' Besides the objections to innovating in such a matter, to write 'Vergil' would be to obscure the history of the name and to make it appear as if it had been introduced into our literature at a different period and by a different method from that by which it was really introduced into it.

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also occurs in a French MS. of the Vulgate (G) at Luke i. 18 ; and the tenth century MS. C of the *Heptateuch* of Cyprian, bishop of Toulon, has three instances of *hesternus* for *externus*, and one of *sescentos* (ed. Mayor, p. xlviii). It does not appear that this poem ever passed through Italian hands. The *Codex Trivultianus* of Corippus, an African writer of the age of Justinian, has as many as seven examples. The MS. itself is of the fourteenth century, but it may very well have been made from an ancient archetype, as the work does not seem to have been much copied.

There is also decisive evidence for the writing of *s* for *x* in Spain. A ninth century MS. of Cassian, which Petschenig, the editor, calls 'Lombardic,' but which is really Visigothic from the monastery of Silos, near Burgos<sup>1</sup>, is characterized by the forms *ansietas*, *ausilium*, *justa*, *senes*<sup>2</sup>.

The Appendix to Probus<sup>3</sup>, among its directions as to orthography, says that *senes* is to be written and not *senis* (ed. Keil, iv. 198).

On the whole, though we have thus sufficient evidence of the prevalence of this corruption in Italy, there is also reason to think that it existed in Africa, and satisfactory proof of its existence in Gaul.

**N inserted.** We may dismiss the many instances of words in which the insertion of *n* is both correct in itself, and supported by a large amount of early authority, though it has dropped out of common use. Such would be *totiens*, *quotiens*, *vicensimus*, *conjunct*, and we might add also *formonsus*, which is spelt thus both in MSS. and inscriptions. Here the *n* appears to be etymologically right, and similar to that which has dropped out of *χαπίεϛ* (for *χαπίεϛς*)<sup>4</sup>. Not so correct in itself, though equally well attested by early and good MSS., is the form *thensaurus*: it is more assured in MSS. of the Old Latin than in those of the Vulgate. On much the same footing as this would be the form *occansio*, which has also a large amount of early attestation. It is found in *Codex*

<sup>1</sup> The MS. is described by M. Delisle in *Mélanges de Paléographie*, &c. p. 78 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ioh. Cassiani Opp.* ed. Petschenig, p. xxxvii (Vienna, 1888). I was convinced from the orthography that this MS. was Visigothic, and had little difficulty in identifying it.

<sup>3</sup> Sittl originally held that this was a compilation which did not represent any particular province (*Die lok. Verschied.* p. 35 n.), but he has recently expressed the opinion, on what seem to be good grounds, that it belongs to Africa (*Archiv f. lat. Lexikog.* vi. p. 557).

<sup>4</sup> *Virosus* is said to = *vironsus*, from a root-form *viro-uensso-* = *viro-uent-to-* (V. Henry, *Précis de Grammaire comparée*, p. 169).

*Vercellensis* (a), which palaeography and tradition alike refer to the fourth century<sup>1</sup>, and in *Codex Veronensis* (b), which is said to be not more than a century later. Both of these are probably Italian MSS. The form occurs no less than nine times in *Codex Fuldensis* of the Vulgate (Bp. Wordsworth's *F*), which we know to have been written in Campania just before the year 546. It occurs even more often in *Codex Claromontanus* (*D* Paul.), for which Dr. Corssen has recently claimed an Italian origin. This may very possibly be right, though the arguments made use of point rather against Africa than definitely for Italy as compared with other localities where a Graeco-Latin MS. might be written. The common view is that the companion MS., *Codex Bezae* (*D* Evv.), was written in Southern Gaul. The place of origin of these early Graeco-Latin MSS. is an interesting subject of enquiry that has not yet been brought to any settled conclusion. *Occansio* does not occur in the N. T. portion of *Codex Amiatinus*. It occurs in a v. l. of the French MS. *E* at Mat. xxvi. 16. It is found once, with three other instances of *n* inserted, though not before *s*, in Jordanes.

Some curious examples occur sporadically in the inscriptions: *herens* in Macedonia and Southern Gaul, *sciantis* (= *sciatis*) in Calabria, *superstens* in proconsular Asia, *memoriens*=*memoriae* in Dalmatia, and the proper name *Crenscens*, which is found repeatedly, but, strange to say, is the only example except *coniunx* in Africa. Very remarkable is the form *Monse*, which is characteristic of the sole existing fragmentary MS. of the *Assumptio Moyses* which is assigned to the sixth century, or possibly earlier (Fritzsche, *Libr. Apoc.* p. xxxiii., after Ceriani). The nearest parallel to this with which I am acquainted is *Heronde* in the Lichfield or St. Chad's Gospels (Bp. Wordsworth's *L*) in Matt. ii. 22. Less anomalous than these are the vernacular forms *finctus* (= *fictus*), which is found in Priscillian (ed. Schepss, p. 21. l. 16), and *finctiosus* (= *ficticius*), which is rightly restored by Miodónski in the text of the *De Aleatoribus*, c. 7. Also nearer to the beaten track are the two examples from *Cod. Amiatinus*, *gigans* and *optimans*. Plenty of parallels may be found for the first of these. The Calabrian inscriptions have *Atlans* and *Thoans*. *Atlans* is found generally in the MSS. of Virgil, while single MSS. have *Acragans*, *Pallans*: *superstens*, *increpitans* (for *increpitans*) and *flectens*, *praemens* as futures are also found. It is in this latter class that we must look for analogies to

<sup>1</sup> M. Berger questions this early date, but I believe it to be on the whole probable.

*optimans*. We note that *redundans* for *redundas* occurs in MSS. of Venantius Fortunatus (iii. 24. 15), though in a group which appears to avoid the form *senes*. In Gregory of Tours there are several examples of *n* inserted before *s* like *accensus* (= *accessus*), perhaps from confusion with *ascensus*. The only identical examples that I have found of *gigans* are quoted by Georges in his *Lex. d. lat. Wortformen*, both from the *Amplonian Glossaries*. These are important for the point directly at issue. So far there would seem to be a preponderance of evidence for Italy as the centre from which these forms had radiated. These glossaries, however, in the form in which they have come down to us, would seem to be widely removed from Italy. The MSS. of both glossaries are said to contain notes in Anglo-Saxon<sup>1</sup>. Still, if we went far enough back, the forms might have come in upon Italian soil. With no great centre were the first English scholars in such frequent communication as with Rome. On the whole the view that this inserted *n* favours an Italian origin seems to me, if not proved, yet perhaps rather more probable than not.

**CX=X.** For this there are nine examples in Cisalpine Gaul, ten in the rest of Italy outside Rome; but the same number in Gallia Narbonensis, three in Sardinia, three in Spain, and many (about thirty-six) in Africa. The like phenomenon occurs several times in Jordanes and in the MSS. of Paulus' *Historia Langobardorum*, at least once in Orientius (Mr. Ellis prints *extincxit* in *Comm.* i. 356), once (*sancxit*) in Gregory of Tours, once, if not more, in an Anglo-Saxon MS. of Sedulius dating from the eighth century, and several times, not to say frequently, in the group of Irish MSS. published by Prof. T. K. Abbott (*Ev. Vers. Antehieron.* pp. vi, xxi). In Matt. xi. 17 *plancxisti* occurs in *R* (Irish), and *plancxistis* in *E* (French with Irish affinities). I imagine that the wide diffusion of this usage will not be disputed. There is hardly one of the Latin-speaking provinces from which there is not evidence for it.

**Sub assimilated before S and Ad before M.** The assimilation of prepositions is a subject on which it is dangerous to generalise. Each word must be taken by itself, because a writer will assimilate one word and not another which seems to be exactly analogous to it. Instances of the assimilation of *sub* before *s* are comparatively rare. Those that I have been able to find are all Italian: *suscriptione* from Tusculum, *suscripsi* from Cannae (both quoted by Sittl, p. 71), and *suscriptum* from

<sup>1</sup> Loewe, *Prodromus Glossariorum*, p. 114 f.

the Calabrian volume (*CIL*. ix. 5420). So far as it goes this evidence would favour Dr. Hamann's conclusion, but it is too slight to build an induction upon. The assimilation both of *sub* and *ad* before *m* is more common. Yet neither is found in the Campanian volume, and only *ammissus* in the Calabrian, along with numerous instances of non-assimilation. Non-assimilation appears to be also the rule in Latium: there are no examples of either *sub* or *ad* assimilated. In the province of Asia *im memoriam* occurs twice, in Dalmatia once, with *im bello*, *im praetorio*: in Africa there is one example of *amministrare* dating from the fourth century. In the MSS. of Virgil, where we should rather expect to find it, there is only one imperfect example of *ad* assimilated before *m*: A MORSÖ Cod. Med. Georg. ii. 379. Assimilation of *sub* and *in* before *m* is much more frequent (*ommutuit*, *summersum*, *summittere*, *summovere*, *im magnum*, *im mare*, *im me*, *im medium*, &c.). Similar assimilations appear to be characteristic of the Vatican MS. (*V*), which dates from the seventh century, of the *Excerpts* of Eugippius; and they are still more marked in two ninth century French MSS. *P* and *T* of the same author. They would, in fact, seem to be carried back, if not to Eugippius himself, to the original copy of the *Excerpts*. So large a work, consisting merely of extracts from St. Augustine, would probably not be written out by the abbot<sup>1</sup> himself, but by some of his monks. In the *Vita Severini*, which we may suppose that Eugippius would write with his own hand, there are no very striking examples until we come to Cod. *N*, a MS. of the tenth or eleventh century, which has *quemammodum* throughout. There is strong evidence for the usage in Victor Vitensis, where Petschenig reads *ammoneret*, *ammonere*, *ammissi*—in all six times. In Jordanes it occurs twelve times. In Sedulius it is probably not original but characteristic of two MSS. *M T*, both probably Italian. Arndt has admitted *amminiculo* once into the text of Gregory of Tours (p. 166. l. 4). Assimilation is common in Cod. *Casiniensis* (*A*<sup>1</sup>) of this writer, a MS. of the eleventh or twelfth century in broken Lombardic, said to show signs of having been copied from a Merovingian exemplar. It is however probable that forms like *ammirabilis* are really Italian. Gregory adopts the commoner forms of assimilation, but he more often does not assimi-

<sup>1</sup> There is much to be said for the spelling 'abbat,' which has had a continuous existence in our literature from the twelfth century onwards ('abbad' occurs c. 889), but as 'abbot' is also perfectly legitimate (see Dr. Murray's *Dictionary* s. v.) the usage of the majority may decide.

late. Assimilation is rare in Alcimus Avitus and Venantius Fortunatus (there are no instances of *suss-* or *amm-*): it is very slight in the specimens of Visigothic writing: and, speaking generally, it may be said that it is avoided by the writers of the Caroline period as represented in the two volumes of *Poetae Medii Aevi*. The same would hold good for the two books of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which are all that has been critically edited of the works of Bede.

In the Vulgate *ammirabantur* seems to be assured in Matt. vii. 28: it occurs in eleven of Bishop Wordsworth's MSS. (in one case as a correction) of very varied origin: *summisserunt* is also decisively attested in Mark ii. 4. There is a division of authorities in Acts ix. 25, x. 11: in the first of these places the Campanian MS. *F* does not assimilate.

In the grammatical treatise of Cassiodorus assimilation is distinctly recognised: *ammonet* and *amminiculo* are given as examples, also *summovit* and *sumministrat* (ed. Keil, p. 162 f.). In this part of his treatise Cassiodorus is quoting from an earlier writer, Papirianus; but he himself wrote in the same manner (e.g. *ammonui*, p. 146).

Taking all the evidence together, a better case appears to be made out than we have as yet had. There is, I think, a presumption that the less usual forms of assimilation are Italian.

**A = AU.** Corssen would confine this usage during the early centuries to proper names (*Aussprache*, i. 663 f.) According to him it begins in Greek inscriptions of century I (ΚΛΑΔΙΟΥ, ΑΓΟΥΣΤΕ), then in Latin. It is found most frequently in De Rossi's Roman inscriptions; but it also occurs three times in Cisalpine Gaul, once at Puteoli, once in Sardinia; also twice in Spain (*Cladius*, *Glacus*), and three times for the name of the month (*id.* and *kal. Agust.*) in Africa. Besides *Agusto*, *atem* also occurs in *Codex Monacensis* (q), a Freising MS. of the seventh century, which is thought to have been written in the eastern half of the Merovingian dominions; and two instances of *agurior* for *auguror* are given by Caspari, *Hom. de Sacril.* p. 53 (Christiania, 1886). Knoell notes a single instance in the Vatican MS. (saec. vii) of the *Excerpts* of Eugippius. He remarks upon this (p. vii), as he says that the confusion is very common in some of his MSS. Unfortunately he does not tell us which; but we may infer from the specimen given on p. xxv. that *Q* was one of them. As a near ancestor of *Q* was written at Naples in the year 581, it is possible that the peculiarity may be Italian. When however we turn to the Vulgate of Luke ii. 1



we find that *agusto* is read in *DLQRTY*, of which *DQR* are Irish, *LY* English, and *T* Spanish. Not only *agusti*, *aguste*, but also *agures* (*bis*) occur in specimens of Visigothic writing of the eighth century (Ewald and Loewe, tabb. viii, xi). Similar forms appear both in French and English MSS. (Pal. Soc. ii. 35; *Cat. Anc. MSS.*, pp. 60, 61; Arndt, *Schrifttafeln*, tab. 16). *Agustus*, *Agustidunum* are the common forms in Gregory of Tours. The grammarian Caper lays down *ausculta non asculita* (ed. Keil, vii. 108), which shows that both forms were current. And if turning to modern usage it is argued that the Italian form is 'Agostino,' it may be replied that the Spanish is also 'Agustin.'

**O = AU.** *Clodus* is no doubt the vernacular spelling. We are reminded of the story about Vespasian's pronunciation of *plaustra* as *plostra* (Sueton. *Vesp.* 22), which was apparently a provincialism derived from his Sabine birthplace. *Clodus* is widely attested in MSS. of the Old-Latin Version, in both its forms, African and European. This, however, would not be decisive, as the form which is called African need not have been African in its origin, circulated outside Africa, and is extant in MSS. which are probably not African. Yet there can be no doubt that *clodus* was really current in Africa: it has an assured place in the text of Cyprian. *Clodus* and *claudus* are found side by side in Irish MSS. of the seventh or eighth centuries. Gregory of Tours certainly wrote *clodus*: so too Venantius Fortunatus: the majority of the Vulgate MSS. have it in Matt. xv. 30, 31.

**U = AU.** The forms *clusi* for *clausi*, *clusum* for *clausum* are also very widely diffused. They are found in MSS. of all kinds, both of the Old Latin and of the Vulgate (e.g. Luke xiii. 25 *clausierit c f ff<sub>2</sub> δ, cluserit b d e i l q*; Matt. vi. 6 *clauso codd. plur.*; *cluso*  $\Xi$ PF $\Theta$ JL\*MO\*QRZ; Matt. xiii 15 *clausierunt* BKM<sup>1</sup> TVWXZ\*, *cluserunt* ACFH $\Theta$ JMO\*Y). Examples like these show the presence of the *u*-forms in every region where the Bible was copied. They also occur in Apuleius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lucifer Calaritanus (several instances in each), also once in Salvian of Marseilles, though not apparently in Claudianus Mamertus, Eugippius, Orientius, or Sedulius.

**A = E.** Not uncommon in inscriptions in the word *consacrare*; but a more exact parallel to the *adtractaverit* of *Codex Amiatinus* is supplied by Gregory of Tours, where three of the oldest and best MSS. (two of the seventh century and one of the eighth) read *contractans*. I see too that Mr. Ellis reads *detractans* in Avienus,

xxviii. 19, with Jeep in Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* i. 156, observing that *retractare* is invariable. We might also point to Cyprian, *Ep.* lxvii. 9, where all Hartel's MSS. have *detractores* or *detractatores*.

**E = I.** The single example of this *redemet* (= *redimet*) need not detain us. Numbers of such cases might be quoted from the inscriptions or MSS. of every region. It is so frequent in the British MSS. of the Vulgate as almost to be regarded as a characteristic of these islands; but it is too clearly attested elsewhere. I pass over for the same reason the aspirate in *hostium*.

**Vowel prefixed to S impure.** More interesting than the last examples is the form *histriatarum* (= *striatarum* in 3 Reg. vii. 24). The prefixing of a vowel to *s* impure is of course not rare in the Romance countries. In the Spanish inscriptions there are four examples like *Ischolasticus*; in Africa four examples, and many proper names; in Calabria one example of *i* prefixed and two of *e* (*espiritum*, *explendidus*). Le Blant quotes a number of examples (*Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, p. cxviii). Jordanes has *expectaculum* (which is also found in Priscillian) and *expoliata*; and there are similar examples in Gregory of Tours. Some curious forms occur in the single extant MS. of Arnobius, *Codex Parisinus*, saec. ix. in., copied from a Lombardic (? Merovingian) original, where *a* is prefixed in this way (e.g. *aspiritu*, *ascauros*, *adscribuntur* for *scribuntur*; ed. Reifferscheid, p. x), and what I suppose is still more peculiar, *instructum* for *structum*, *inscientia* for *scientia*, *inspecuali* for *spectaculi*, &c., in all five examples, and yet others. Nearer to the particular form in question would be *hispatii*, which occurs on p. 53 of the *Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta*<sup>1</sup>, which is thought to be work of an Aquitanian lady named Sylvia, and appears to have been written in 385-388 A. D. The MS. in which the form occurs is Lombardic of the tenth century. We have, however, a still more exact parallel in the form *histriaturis* for *striaturis*, which is common to all the six leading MSS. of Apollinaris Sidonius (*Ep.* iv. ix. 4; p. 60. l. 6, ed. Luetjohann). It would thus go back at least to the archetype of these MSS., and perhaps even to Sidonius himself or the scribe whom he employed. In any case the form must have been in use in Gaul as well as in Italy.

The converse case of *Spania* for *Hispania*, on which Dr. Hamann also tries to base an argument, is of frequent occurrence.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Gamurrini; cf. Wolfflin, *Archiv f. lat. Lexikog.* iv. 260.

It is found in Spanish inscriptions, and in the specimens of Visigothic writing (Ewald and Loewe, tab. xiv): it occurs in the Muratorian Fragment (which is probably Italian) and in the MS. of Arnobius (once): it is well authenticated in Gregory of Tours and is the constant spelling (thirty-six times) in Jordanes.

**S=EX.** I hardly know whether we need seek a parallel for *espendebat* which Dr. Hamann quotes from Judith xiii. 8. In the MS. both the intrusive letters are marked for omission. They might possibly represent a reading *expēdebat*. The Clementine text has *pendebat*, which is doubtless right.

The form *scandescet* for *excandescet* in Sap. v. 23 has many analogies in that remarkable MS. *Cod. Bezae* (*D* Evv.). The forms which occur so frequently as to be characteristic of this MS., *sconspectu*, *scoruscatio*, *scoruscus*, appear to mark a still further stage of development. They must, I suppose, have arisen from *ex conspectu*, *excoruscatio*, though the preposition has entirely lost its force (the reading in Acts vii. 46 is *in sconspectu*<sup>di</sup>). It were much to be wished that we knew where *Cod. Bezae* itself was written. The common view, as we have seen, assigns it to the South of France. In favour of this would be the curious form *sonium* (= μέμνη, Luke xxi. 34), which is naturally compared with 'soin<sup>1</sup>.'

**PH=P, and DI=Z.** The spelling *tophadius* is another interesting point. The aspiration of *p* is not very common and does not seem, so far as I can judge, to be local. The spelling *topadium* occurs in the leading MS. (*M*) of the genuine *Speculum* of St. Augustine (ed. Wehrich, p. iii): this MS. is of the ninth century and came from St. Emmeran's at Ratisbon. *Cod. Bobiensis* (*k*) of the Old Latin has *baptidiator* in Matt. xi. 11 (*baptiziator* five times elsewhere). Mr. Maunde Thompson believes that *k* was written in Italy; but, however this may be, *baptidiare* occurs four times in the *Peregrinatio* (Wölflin, *Archiv*, iv. 260), and we have also *rabidiare* (Ronsch, *It. u. V.* p. 171), *exorcidiare* (ib. p. 458), *catomidiare* (Georges). And even though we should suppose, what would be difficult to prove, that all the MSS. in which these forms occurred were Italian, there would still remain other instances which could not be thus accounted for. The corresponding change of *z* for *di* (especially in the form *zabulus*) is very widely distributed

<sup>1</sup> See, however, especially Ducange s. v. 'soniare,' which appears to be found in glossaries on the *Leges Langobardorum*, but was also current in France. Ducange's glossaries have *sonnium*, φροντίς, ἰδιωτικῶς: *sonnior*, μεμινῶ.

—from Commodian (in Palestine?) to the Irish Books of Kells and Durrow.

**The dropping of M** is the last of Dr. Hamann's instances. It is, however, too common to furnish any criterion. There are many examples in the Spanish and African inscriptions besides those in Italy; and instances similar to those quoted from *Cod. Amiatinus* are plentiful enough in other MSS.

To sum up. The results of this enquiry must be confessed to be disappointing; they are for the most part negative rather than positive. Many of the points which we have been discussing (*c* inserted before *x*, *u*=*au*, *a*=*e*, *e*=*i*, *ph*=*h*, dropping of final *m*) hardly seem to have even a *prima facie* case in their favour. We should add to these *o*=*au* in *clodus*, but for the story about Vespasian. It is possible that this form may have been Italian in its origin, but at least from the third century onwards it is common in other provinces. Perhaps the same may be said of *a*=*au* in *Agustinus*, &c. This too may have come originally from Italy, but it is also firmly established in Spain and found its way frequently into the North. The accretion or suppression of vowels before *s* impure, and the substitution of *s* for *x* are not so much characteristic of Italy as of the Romance countries in general. There remain the epenthesis of *n*, as in *gigans*, assimilation of prepositions, and *di*=*z*. In regard to these, the evidence collected has been of course far from exhaustive: its proportions might easily be altered by wider enquiry: there is also some uncertainty as to the localities to which the different items of evidence are to be referred. It is a delicate question of the weighing of evidence on which I am by no means sure that my own impression is right: still I am inclined to think that there is some ground for Dr. Hamann's contention, and that the examples are strewn more thickly as we approach Italian soil.

It must not be thought that all the branches of this kind of enquiry are equally inconclusive. The type of Visigothic writing stands out very distinctly. Extreme examples of it may be seen in *Cod. Cavensis* (*C*) of the Vulgate, and in the Paris MS. (*O*) above referred to of Ioh. Cassianus. More normal examples would be the common readings of *CTΘ* in the Vulgate, and some of the specimens of writing in Ewald and Loewe's collection. Nowhere but in Spanish MSS. have I found *mici*=*mihī*, and the substitution of *qu* for *c* (as in *qnur*) is more common than elsewhere.

Some characteristics also come out in the Irish MSS. Extreme examples of these would be the *Book of Armagh* and Dr. T. K. Abbott's *Cod. Usserianus II*, more normal examples the Books of Kells and Durrow and the Rushworth Gospels. There is a very common tendency in Irish MSS. to the doubling especially of *s* in forms like *possitus*, *nissi*. Nowhere but in the *Book of Armagh* have I found the curious form *anguelus* (= *angelus*): forms like *diciens*, *vidiens* are marked in *Cod. Usserianus*, and it is a curious coincidence that *diciens* occurs also in *Cod. Bobiensis* (*k*), which, although it belonged to St. Columban's monastery, is possibly older than St. Columban himself, and at least not Irish (*O. L. B. T.* ii. pp. clxi, clxv.). The Visigothic MS. of Cassian, however, has *concupiscientia*, *inpudiens*.

I rather believe that the doubling of consonants in the penultimate, as in *obtullit*, is characteristic of Northern France, including the Valley of the Loire.

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A few more facts of some interest may be adduced in regard to the assimilation of *d* before *m*. This is not original in the writings of Cassian. The form *quemadmodum* occurs frequently in both the Institutions and the Conferences without variant. Assimilation is characteristic of a particular MS. *N* (Cod. 483 of the Arsenal at Paris of the 10th or 11th century) of the treatise *Contra Nestorium*. It is equally characteristic of the archetype of all the extant MSS. of Sidonius (cf. the preface by Leo to Luetjohann's edition, p. xxxi). This archetype appears to have been written in the eighth century (*ibid.* p. xxvii). It does not follow that Sidonius himself assimilated, and to judge from his text the editor appears to think that he did not. Arguing from Cassian on the one hand, and from Gregory of Tours on the other, the presumption might be thought to be in this direction; but we might, on the other hand, suppose that Sidonius derived a tendency to assimilate from his Italian connexions. An interesting MS. of Primasius on the Apocalypse (Bodl. Douce 140) repeatedly has *quemammodum*. This MS. was probably written in England in the eighth or ninth century, but there is some reason to think that it was copied from a Merovingian exemplar. It is possible that Primasius him-

self may have written *quemammodum*. If so, his evidence would hold good for Africa in the time of Justinian. The practice of assimilating in this way might have been brought over from Italy. But the instances just quoted might suggest the conclusion that it was introduced into some French centre not later than the eighth century. I believe that *quemammodum* is a good test word, and that a fairly clear generalisation might be made out about it ; but more material must be collected.

THE END